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*Daniel Boone*

BOSTON,  
CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN,  
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VOL. XXIII.



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L I F E  
OF  
D A N I E L B O O N E ,

THE PIONEER OF KENTUCKY;

BY  
JOHN M. PECK.





## P R E F A C E .

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OF the many writers who have had occasion to give sketches of the history of Daniel Boone, scarcely any two have agreed in many of the prominent events of his life. More especially have they differed in the time and place of his birth, and that of his decease. A fiction about the latter event, which was with too little caution adopted and published by the late Timothy Flint, and, on the authority of his book, propagated by several others, had its origin in the following manner. A traveller from Chillicothe, Ohio, visited the Missouri Territory, in the summer of 1818. On his return, an editor of a weekly paper, in that town, questioned this gentleman for news from Missouri, this territory then being a frontier in the "Far West." In a waggish humor, the traveller replied, "I do not recollect any thing new or strange, except one event that occurred while I was in the territory. The celebrated hunter Daniel Boone died in a very singular manner while I was there."

Curiosity was thus excited, and the particulars were inquired after. The story given by the narrator was, that the old pioneer had encamped at a salt lick, watching the deer, as customary; and next morning he was found dead, lying on his breast, with his rifle to his shoulder, and the eyeball glazed in death, as though he was taking sight, or, as a hunter would say, "drawing a bead" upon a deer. This story, of course, formed the theme of a thrilling editorial, went the rounds of the newspaper press, and has been adopted in nearly every article professing to give the "Life of Daniel Boone." The author of the present memoir was then a resident of St. Louis. The "Missouri Gazette" noticed the fiction, and contradicted the story; but truth always lags behind falsehood. A few weeks after this story had obtained currency, the writer told the old pioneer the tale, which the newspapers had made about him. With his customary pleasant smile, the reply was, "I would not believe that tale if I told it myself. I have not watched the deer's lick for ten years. My eyesight is too far gone to hunt." Equally incorrect are many of the stories that have obtained circulation. Some readers may feel disappointment, because they are not to be found in the following work. The writer has been



careful to give none but such as he has evidence are authentic.

In the rotundo of the Capitol of the United States, in Washington city, are sculptured emblems of incidents in the early history of our country. The one over the door that leads to the chamber of the House of Representatives, represents a brawny white man in deadly conflict with two Indians. One lies at his feet in the agonies of death; the other, with uplifted tomahawk, is about to give the fatal stroke, when he is paralyzed by the hunter's knife. This was intended to represent an incident in the life of Boone; but, unfortunately, it is wholly fictitious. No such event occurred, although recorded with a pictorial illustration in the little work of Mr. Flint, and, like the story of his death, published in various seemingly authentic forms.

The earliest authentic account of Colonel Boone is a brief sketch of a portion of his life from 1769 to 1783, which was published in 1784, by John Filson, who wrote it from the statements of the old pioneer, though it purports to be in the first person.\*

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\* The title of this work is as follows; "The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky, and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of that important Country. To which is added, I. The Adventures

In the preface to Mr. Filson's book is the following acknowledgment; "My thanks are more especially due to Colonel Boon,\* who was earlier acquainted with the subject of this performance than any other now living, as appears by the account of his adventures, which I esteemed curious and interesting, and therefore have published them from his own mouth."

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of Colonel Daniel Boon, one of the first Settlers, comprehending every important Occurrence in the Political History of that Province. II. The Minutes of the Piankishaw Council, held at Post St. Vincents, April 15th, 1784. III. An Account of the Indian Nations inhabiting the Limits of the Thirteen United States, their Manners and Customs, and Reflections on their Origin. By JOHN FILSON."

Mr. Filson spent some time in Kentucky, conversed much with the pioneers, and obtained and published the following certificate to the correctness of his performance, signed by Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, and James Harrod.

"We, the subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement, at the request of the author of this book have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the public as an exceeding good performance, containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given; much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great use to the public. Witness our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784."

\* Mr. Filson invariably gives this orthography of the name. We follow the uniform autograph of Colonel Boone, and of his connections.

Colonel Boone was not a practised writer; yet his skill was sufficient to enable him to write an intelligible letter. In advanced life, at the repeated request of his friends, he commenced an autobiography, and made considerable progress; but by an accident his papers were destroyed. About the year 1812, Mr. Callaway, with another person, undertook to remove the trunks, and other chattels of his father-in-law, with those of his own family, up the Missouri River, from Femme Osage settlement, to Charette, the place of his residence, in a pirogue, or large canoe. It struck a snag, upset, and the contents, with the manuscript, were left in the river. To use Boone's own language to the author, he was "but a poor scribe," and never resumed the task. The statements given by Filson, from his dictation, are authentic, but the style is turgid; yet the old woodsman was pleased with it, and mistook it for eloquence. He was fond of hearing his friends read this narrative.

The "History of Kentucky," by Humphrey Marshall, is the next work, deserving attention, from which correct information of Boone can be had. Yet with its general, though defective statements, it contains a palpable error, which several other writers have copied. The author states that "the ancestors of Daniel

Boone resided in Maryland, where he was born in 1746."\* Yet, in 1773, he had a son killed by the Indians near Cumberland Gap, aged about eighteen years. It may be, that Boone had relations in Maryland, but the evidence before us is direct and positive, that his father migrated from Berks county, Pennsylvania, about 1754, to North Carolina.

The late Timothy Flint was the author of a small book, entitled "Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, the first Settler of Kentucky," which was published in Cincinnati in 1833. The historical facts it contains were chiefly drawn from the narrative by Filson. The remainder of the book is too much colored by the visions of the writer's affluent imagination.

The author of "Uncle Philip's Conversations" has furnished his juvenile readers with the romance of Mr. Flint, in a new dress, which has received the notice it merits in the *North American Review*.†

In a compilation, entitled "Incidents of Border Life,"‡ it is said that he was born in Virginia, and several other writers have made the same statement.

The "History of the Commonwealth of

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\* Vol. I. p. 17.

† Vol. LXII. p. 71.

‡ Published in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, 8vo. pp. 511.

Kentucky," by Mann Butler, is more correct in the general facts, though it enters less into detail, than the work of Marshall.

The "Address" of James T. Morehead, late Governor of Kentucky, on the commemoration of the first settlement of that state, delivered at Boonesborough, on the 25th of May, 1840, is enriched with many facts and incidents concerning Boone. He adopts the mistake of Mr. Marshall in regard to his birth.

The sources from which the author of this memoir has derived the meagre events of his early life were conversations with Colonel Boone himself, the traditions of his family and friends, and especially the communications of the late Daniel Bryan, a nephew, and Mrs. Lemon, a niece, of the pioneer. Many of the incidents, and the means of settling some doubtful points, have been obtained, after much research, by Mr. Lyman C. Draper, of Baltimore, to whose kindness the author acknowledges his indebtedness for access to the information in Mr. Draper's possession. Many facts pertaining to the middle and latter periods of his life have been obtained from his children, particularly the late Flanders Callaway and his wife, with whom Colonel Boone resided during the latter years of his life, and when first known to the writer.

Every publication, it is believed, concerning Colonel Boone, or the early history of Kentucky, has been examined and collated with other statements. And while the work was in progress, the author made a visit to the settlement in Missouri, where he lived and died, to confer with his descendants and neighbors. In this excursion he was enabled to confirm some doubtful particulars, and to add two or three new incidents.

ROCK SPRING, *Illinois*, October, 1846.

# DANIEL BOONE.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Birth and Parentage. — Early Education and Training. — Removal to North Carolina. — Marriage. — Hunting Expeditions. — Affairs in North Carolina. — Emigration to the western Wilderness. — Boone, Finley, and others go to Kentucky. — Indian Claims. — Boone and Stewart taken Prisoners, and escape. — Unexpected Arrival of Squire Boone. — Stewart killed. — Excursion to Cumberland River. — Boone returns to North Carolina. — Notice of other hunting Parties in the West.*

DANIEL BOONE, the pioneer of Kentucky, was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the month of February, 1735. His father, whose name was Squire Boone, was a native of England, his mother's name was Sarah Morgan. He was the father of eleven children. According to information received from

the late Daniel Bryan, a grandson of Squire Boone, their births and names were in the following order; Israel, Sarah, Samuel, Jonathan, Elizabeth, DANIEL, Mary, (mother of Daniel Bryan,) George, Edward, Squire, and Hannah.\*

When Daniel was a small boy, his father removed to Berks county, Pennsylvania, not far from Reading, and at that period a frontier settlement, abounding with game, and exposed to Indian assaults. It was here that young Boone, a mere boy, received those im-

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\* The following article from the Pittsburg American, in commenting on a sketch of Daniel Boone, in Chambers's "Journal," throws additional light on the history of the family. •

It corresponds with traditions received by the author from other sources, except as to the place of his birth, and the time when he first went to North Carolina.

"George Boone and Mary, his wife, arrived at Philadelphia, on the 10th of October, A. D. 1717, N. S., from Bradninch, within eight miles (as we learn by another record) of the city of Exeter, in Devonshire, England. They brought with them, as our tradition states, eleven children; two daughters and nine sons. We have direct intelligence only of three of these sons, John, James, and Squire, and record of the births, marriages, and deaths of the two first. The last, Squire Boone, was the father of Daniel Boone.

"George Boone, immediately after his arrival in America, purchased a large tract of land, in what is now Berks county, which he settled, and called it Exeter, after the city near which he was born. The records distinguish it only as the township of Exeter, without any county. He



pressions of character that were so strikingly displayed in his subsequent life. From childhood, he delighted to range the woods, watch the wild animals, and contemplate the beauties of uncultivated nature.

Rude and unhewn log cabins, and hewn log houses, erected in the "clearings," and surrounded with blackened stumps and cornfields, were the residences of the frontier settlers. The school-house of that day, of which samples may still be seen in all the new settle-

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purchased also various other tracts in Maryland and Virginia, and our tradition says, among others, the ground on which Georgetown, District of Columbia, now stands, and that he laid the town out, and gave it his own name. His sons John and James lived and died on the Exeter purchase. Squire removed into North Carolina, but at what period, we only know from the traditionary account we received, that it took place when Daniel was in his fourteenth year.

"In 1790, or about that period, Daniel Boone revisited the place of his birth, and the friends and relations he had left; and from these we have verbal accounts which he gave them of his adventures in Kentucky, which are preserved in the family with affectionate and pious care. Among the relatives are the Leas, still residing in Oley, Berks county. It would therefore require no great research to find almost the very spot of his birth. We show sufficiently, however, that neither he nor his ancestors came from Somerset, as stated, but the latter from Devonshire, and that he himself was born, not in England at all, but in Exeter, Pennsylvania, in what is now Berks county, and in that

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ments of the southwest, was constructed of rough logs, exactly square, with a chimney occupying one side, and wrought with sticks and clay; the door placed in front. A single log cut out from one side left an aperture, that answered the purpose of a window, under which a slab was placed for a writing desk. The surrounding forest furnished ample supplies of fuel, and a spring of water provided the refreshing and primitive draught for the thirsty. At such a rustic seminary young

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part of Berks, too, be it remembered, called Oley, about which we have before said or sung much that was good.

“Flint, who says, in his *Life of Boone*, that ‘the remotest of his ancestors, of whom there is any recorded notice, is Joshua Boone, an English Catholic, who settled in Maryland,’ wrote, in this instance at least, in entire ignorance of his subject. Joshua was a family name among the Boones, and may, no doubt, have been the name of one of George and Mary Boone’s sons; but George Boone was not a Catholic, but a member of the English Protestant Church. This fact we have from the same source of tradition with other facts here given. We have also a certificate in our possession of the marriage of James Boone, a grandson of George and Mary Boone, which took place in the English Protestant church, at Reading, Pennsylvania; also the record of the death of Judah Boone, another grandson, which adds that he was interred in the Friends’ burying-ground, at Exeter. This goes to confirm another of our traditionary accounts, which inform us that several of the family, after their settlement in Pennsylvania, joined the Quakers.”

Boone received the rudiments of "book-learning." These embraced very little more than easy lessons in the spelling book and Psalter, and a brief space of time employed in writing and arithmetic.

In another kind of education, not unfrequent in the wilds of the west, he was an adept. No Indian could poise the rifle, find his way through the pathless forest, or search out the retreats of game, more readily than Daniel Boone. In all that related to Indian sagacity, border life, or the tactics of the skilful hunter, he excelled. The successful training of a hunter, or woodsman, is a kind of education of mental discipline, differing from that of the school-room, but not less effective in giving vigor to the mind, quickness of apprehension, and habits of close observation. Boone was regularly trained in all that made him a successful backwoodsman. Indolence and imbecility never produced a Simon Kenton, a Tecumthè, or a Daniel Boone. To gain the skill of an accomplished hunter requires talents, patience, perseverance, sagacity, and habits of thinking. Amongst other qualifications, knowledge of human nature, and especially of Indian character, is indispensable to the pioneer of a wilderness. Add to these, self-possession, self-control, and promptness in execution. Persons

who are unaccustomed to a frontier residence know not how much, in the preservation of life, and in obtaining subsistence, depends on such characteristics.

Boone's father had relatives in Maryland, and it is probable that one of his sons lived there for some time, to acquire the trade of a gunsmith. When Daniel was about eighteen years old, his father removed the family to North Carolina, and settled on the waters of the Yadkin, a mountain stream in the north-western part of that state. Here was a fine range for hunting, where young Daniel could follow his favorite employment. Here he formed an acquaintance with Rebecca Bryan, whom he married. One almost regrets to spoil so beautiful and sentimental a romance, as that which has had such extensive circulation in the various "Lives of Boone," and which represents him as mistaking the bright eyes of this young lady, in the dark, for those of a deer; a mistake that nearly proved fatal from the unerring rifle of the young hunter. Yet in truth we are bound to say, that no such event ever happened. Our backwoods swains never make such mistakes.

For several years after marriage, Boone followed the occupation of a farmer; hunting at such times as would not interfere with raising

and securing a crop. In the mean time, the population along the Yadkin and its tributary streams increased, explorations were made to the northwest, and the valleys of the Holston and Clinch Rivers began to resound with the strokes of the woodman's axe, and the neighboring mountains to echo with the sharp crack of the rifle. The Cherokee Indians were troublesome to the frontier settlements for several years, instigated as they were by French emissaries from Louisiana; but in 1761 they sued for peace. Immediately upon this adjustment of Indian affairs, several companies of hunters, from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, hearing of the abundance of game in the valleys along the head waters of the Tennessee River, penetrated the wilderness in their favorite pursuit. At the head of one of these companies was Daniel Boone, from the Yadkin settlements, who ranged through the valleys on the head waters of the Holston, in the southwestern part of Virginia. In 1764, we find him, with another company of hunters, on the Rock Castle, a branch of Cumberland River, within the present boundaries of Kentucky, employed, as he stated, by a party of land speculators, to ascertain and report concerning the country in that quarter.\*

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\* Haywood's *History of Tennessee*, pp. 32, 35.

It is here necessary to give some particulars concerning the state of affairs in North Carolina, which, together with the peculiarities of Boone's temper, influenced him to leave the settlement on the Yadkin, and become a pioneer in the wilds of Kentucky.

Daniel Boone, far from possessing a ferocious temper, or exhibiting dissatisfaction with the charms of domestic and social life, was mild, humane, and charitable; his manners were gentle, his address conciliating, and his heart open to friendship and hospitality. The most prominent traits of his character were unshaken fortitude and self-command. Perfectly plain in dress and style of living, contented with frugal fare, accustomed to be much alone in the woods, he acquired the habit of contemplation, and was an enthusiastic admirer of nature in its primeval wildness. Adventures in hunting had become his ruling passion. He had a natural sense of justice and equity between man and man, and felt, through his whole life, repugnance to the technical forms of law, and the conventional regulations of society and of government, unless they were in strict accordance with his sense of right. He felt keenly opposed to all those customs and usages in social life, that seemed to him at variance with the divine rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

For several years before his first excursion, with Finley and others, to the rich valley of the Louisa River, as Kentucky was then called, the customs and fashions of North Carolina, had been in that process of change, which was calculated to drive such men as Boone from the colony. The trade of the country was in the hands of Scotch adventurers, who came into the colony to acquire wealth and consequence. The people of the country, who had the ability to purchase, laid aside the rustic garments of domestic manufacture, and appeared in all circles clad with imported apparel. To dress otherwise was soon regarded as the sign of poverty and barbarism. The poor man felt himself treated with disdain, and those persons, whose taste and inclination disposed them to habits of frugality, were disgusted with what they regarded as the progress of luxury and effeminacy.

The rich were led into extravagant modes of living, far beyond their income. Labor, among the opulent, was performed by slaves, and the industrious white man, who kept no servants, but who, with his sons, worked the farm, and whose wife and daughters were practical economists in domestic affairs, was less respected than his more opulent neighbor, who passed much of his time in frivolous amuse-

ments. The Scotch merchants took the lead in gay equipages, expensive style, and fashionable gayety. A family alliance with this class was deemed more honorable than with native Carolinians. The governors of the province were alternately Scotch or English, and favored these pretensions. The members of the Legislative Council and of the Assembly were from this class. To procure the means of expensive and fashionable living, the lawyers and clerks of courts demanded exorbitant fees for their services. All sums over forty shillings were sued for and recovered in a court of record. The business was immense, and the extortions of clerks, lawyers, and tax-gatherers, fell with intolerable weight upon the people. Sheriffs, in the collection of taxes, exacted more than was due, and appropriated the surplus to their own use. The offenders were the men in power, who were appointed by law to redress the wrongs of the people. Those who were injured met and petitioned the legislature for relief, and carried their complaints of these malpractices to that body. Their petitions were rejected and treated with contempt.

Driven by oppression to madness, the people rose, and organized themselves in bodies, under the name of "Regulators." The royal forces,



under the command of Governor Tryon, met the Regulators, on the 16th of May, 1771, defeated them in battle, and killed about two hundred. Some of those, who were taken prisoners, were tried and executed; others took the oath of allegiance in token of submission, while others fled to the new settlements on the Holston. Under these circumstances, men of quiet habits, opposed to luxury and oppression, migrated to the wilderness beyond the mountains, where they could enjoy independence and a share of respectability.\*

In 1767, a backwoods hunter, by the name of John Finley, with a few others like himself, made an excursion farther west than the previous hunting parties had gone, upon the waters of Kentucky River, where he spent the season in hunting and trading with the roaming bands of Indians. Their course lay through a portion of Tennessee, where every thing grand and picturesque in mountain scenery, or romantic and delightful in deep and sheltered valleys, existed. They found an exuberant soil, from which sprang giant forests. They saw the rich cane-brakes of Kentucky. To the hunter, here seemed a terrestrial paradise, for it abounded with all kinds of game.

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\* Haywood's *Tennessee*, pp. 37, 38.

Disgusted as Boone was with the growing fashions, and the oppressions of the rich in North Carolina, he was prepared to listen with eagerness and delight to the glowing descriptions of Finley, and his mind was soon made up to see this delectable land. But it was not till after the lapse of many months, that arrangements could be made for the exploration. A party of six was formed, and Boone chosen the leader. His companions were John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Moncey, and William Cool. In the language of Filson, to whom Boone dictated this part of his life, "It was on the 1st of May, in the year 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky." Boone was not unfeeling or indifferent to the domestic relation. His affectionate wife, who was an excellent household manager, kindly and quietly consented to this separation, and called into requisition her skill as a housewife in assisting to provide the necessary outfit. He had sons large enough to raise a crop and manage the business of the farm, under the supervision of their industrious mother.

It was on the 7th of June, 1769, that six men, weary and wayworn, were seen winding their way up the steep side of a rugged mountain, in the wilderness of Kentucky. Their dress was of the description usually worn at that period by all forest rangers. The outside garment was a hunting shirt, or loose open frock, made of dressed deer skins. Leggins or drawers, of the same material, covered the lower extremities, to which was appended a pair of moccasins for the feet. The cape or collar of the hunting shirt, and the seams of the leggins, were adorned with fringes. The under garments were of coarse cotton. A leathern belt encircled the body ; on the right side was suspended the tomahawk, to be used as a hatchet ; on the left side was the hunting knife, powder-horn, bullet-pouch, and other appendages indispensable for a hunter. Each person bore his trusty rifle ; and, as the party slowly made their toilsome way amid the shrubs, and over the logs and loose rocks, that accident had thrown into the obscure trail, which they were following, each man kept a sharp look-out, as though danger or a lurking enemy was near. Their garments were soiled and rent, the unavoidable result of long traveling and exposure to the heavy rains that had fallen ; for the weather had been stormy and

most uncomfortable, and they had traversed a mountainous wilderness for several hundred miles. The leader of the party was of full size, with a hardy, robust, sinewy frame, and keen, piercing, hazel eyes, that glanced with quickness at every object as they passed on, now cast forward in the direction they were travelling for signs of an old trail, and in the next moment directed askance into the dense thicket, or into the deep ravine, as if watching some concealed enemy. The reader will recognize in this man the pioneer Boone, at the head of his companions.

Towards the time of the setting sun, the party had reached the summit of the mountain range, up which they had toiled for some three or four hours, and which had bounded their prospect to the west during the day. Here new and indescribable scenery opened to their view. Before them, for an immense distance, as if spread out on a map, lay the rich and beautiful vales watered by the Kentucky River; for they had now reached one of its northern branches. The country immediately before them, to use a western phrase, was "rolling," and, in places, abruptly hilly; but far in the vista was seen a beautiful expanse of level country, over which the buffalo, deer, and other forest animals, roamed unmolested, while

they fed on the luxuriant herbage of the forest. The countenances of the party lighted up with pleasure, congratulations were exchanged, the romantic tales of Finley were confirmed by ocular demonstration, and orders were given to encamp for the night in a neighboring ravine. In a deep gorge of the mountain, a large tree had fallen, surrounded with a dense thicket, and hidden from observation by the abrupt and precipitous hills. This tree lay in a convenient position for the back of their camp. Logs were placed on the right and left, leaving the front open, where fire might be kindled against another log; and for shelter from the rains and heavy dews, bark was peeled from the linden tree.

From this point they reconnoitred the country, and hunted the buffalo, with which the wilderness abounded. This site was on the waters of Red River, one of the principal branches of the Kentucky, and, so far as can now be ascertained, within the present boundaries of Morgan county. The buffaloes were very numerous, so that hundreds might be seen in one drove, dispersed in the cane-brakes, feeding in the glades, or gathered around the salt licks.

In this region the party hunted with much success till December, without seeing a single

red man. Yet, to the experienced eyes of Boone and his companions, there were signs of the visitation of Indians. The Chaonanons, or Shawanoes, had lived and roamed, in their savage way, over that part of Kentucky, which bordered the Kentucky River at the south, near the middle of the seventeenth century, and their scattered settlements and hunting grounds extended to the Cumberland River, and to the present site of Nashville; but history has preserved no authentic memorials of the occupancy of that part of Kentucky\* where our pioneers were engaged in hunting. Strolling parties of Indian hunters or warriors passed over it, but not one Indian village existed in all that district, which lay between the Guyandot and the Kentucky Rivers.

The Chickasaws possessed that part of the state west of the Tennessee River, called the Cherokee, or Hogohege River. The Cherokees set up a sort of claim to the country, between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers, as hunting grounds. Whatever might be the equity of this claim, it was extinguished by a treaty held at Lochaber, in South Carolina, by John

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\* *Kain-tuck-ee* is a Shawanese word, and signified "at the head of the river." See *Trans. Amer. Antiq. Society*, Vol. I. p. 299. The repeated statement, that it meant "dark and bloody ground," is a fiction.

Stewart, superintendent of Indian affairs, acting under the auspices of the colony of Virginia. This treaty was made on the 5th of October, 1770, and, by a subsequent arrangement between the contracting parties, the boundaries were extended from "the head of Louisa [Kentucky] River to its mouth, and thence up the Ohio River to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa."

The Shawanoes migrated from the country bordering on the Atlantic Ocean south of James River, where they were found in the early part of the seventeenth century; but they were afterwards subjugated by the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and driven to the north of the Ohio River, in the latter part of the same century. The Iroquois, by a pretended right of conquest, claimed the country, as they did all the lands of the tribes they conquered, and at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, they ceded their claim, such as it was, south of the Ohio River to Great Britain. Hence Boone and his associates did not intrude upon the rights of any Indian nation, as these rights were then understood.

For convenience of hunting, and that their observations might be extended over a much larger district, in December the explorers divided themselves into parties. Boone and

Stewart formed one party, and, on the 22d day of the month, they were near the banks of the main Kentucky River. Filson, in his attempt to record Boone's story, says, "In the decline of day, near Kentucky River, as we descended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and made us prisoners. The time of our sorrow was now arrived, and the scene fully opened." The Indians plundered them of what supplies they had, and detained them seven days.

Boone knew too well the character of Indians to manifest fear, uneasiness, or a desire to escape. The savages treated them with rude hospitality, intending, doubtless, after washing all the white blood out by the customary ablution, to adopt them as members of the tribe. At night, the party lodged by a large fire in a thick cane-brake. It is evident from Boone's story, defective as it is, that the Indians had no apprehension of an escape. They took no pains for security, set no watch, but all slept soundly. The seventh night had arrived, and Boone, while pretending to sleep, was forming his plans. The greatest caution was necessary lest the savages should awake. Any attempt to run away, where kindness and lenity have been shown to a captive, is a mortal offence to an Indian. Boone gently awak-



ened Stewart, and, in a low whisper and a sign, gave the intimation necessary. Having secured their guns, and a few trifling articles, the two hunters left their captors in a profound slumber, and successfully made their escape. It is obvious, from the circumstances narrated, that this was a mere hunting party; for, had the savages been on the "war path," they would have guarded their prisoners with greater vigilance, nor could they have made so safe a retreat.

While wandering in darkness through the woods, the feelings of Boone and Stewart may be better imagined than described. They slept no more, but pursued their course all the next day, in as direct a line, and with as much rapidity as the dense forest and canes would permit, towards their old hunting camp, where they expected to meet their companions. But to their surprise and distress, they found it plundered; and their friends, Finley and his associates, as they supposed, had left the country. Of this party nothing more remains either in history or tradition. No intimation has been given, whether they returned to North Carolina or were taken prisoners by the Indians. Boone and his companion continued their hunting, but with more caution; their ammunition began to fail, and their adventure with the In-

dians increased their vigilance by day, and directed them to the most obscure retreats at night.

Early in January, 1770, the forms of two men were discerned in the distant forest. Whether they were hostile Indians, or their former associates, could not be determined at the first view, but they grasped their rifles, and took to the trees for shelter and further observation. It was evident that they had been observed, for the strangers approached cautiously and slowly, exhibiting signs that they were white men and friends. But this did not give the desired relief, for the wily Indian will make such signs of friendship and recognition, to throw his enemy off his guard. Boone gave the customary challenge, "Holloa, strangers! who are you?" The response was, "White men and friends." Judge of the surprise and delight of Boone upon embracing his brother, Squire Boone, and another adventurer from North Carolina, with tidings of his family and supplies of powder and lead. This party had left the settlement on the Yadkin, for the purposes of exploring these western wilds, engaging in a winter's hunt, and finding, if alive, Daniel and his associates. They had seen repeatedly the "signs" and encampments of white men, and, only an hour before the

meeting, had stumbled on their last night's camp.

Shortly after this happy event, Daniel Boone and Stewart were on a second excursion, at some distance from their camp, when they were again attacked by a party of Indians, and Stewart was shot and scalped, while Boone succeeded in effecting his escape. None of the documents or reminiscences give any further particulars. The man, who came to the wilderness with Squire Boone, went into the woods and was missing, or, as Boone supposed, was lost in the woods; but, after several days of anxious search, they concluded he had taken this method to desert them, and return to the settlement. Long afterwards, a decayed skeleton and some fragments of clothing were found near a swamp, and, as this man never reached his friends, the supposition was, that he perished at that place. But whether he fell a victim to savage cruelty or hunger, was never known.\*

The brothers, thus left alone in this vast wilderness, were not oppressed with despond-

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\* The story, in some of the "Lives of Boone," that this man was killed and devoured by wolves, is a fiction. The wolves of the western forests rarely attack and kill a man. They are bountifully supplied with game.

ency or fear ; nor were they indolent. They hunted by day, prepared the skins of the animals they killed for future use, cooked their game, and sang and talked by their bright camp fires at night, and built a comfortable cabin as a shelter from the storms and frosts of winter. They were in want of many necessities. Clothing and moccasins were easily made from dressed deer-skins. With bread and salt they had learned to dispense, but powder and lead were indispensable, and they fancied that horses would be of essential service. During the winter, they saw no Indians, and continued unmolested.

As spring approached, it was decided that the younger brother, Squire Boone, should return to North Carolina for supplies, while Daniel remained to protect the peltry and increase the stock. On the 1st of May, the brothers gave to each other the parting hand. Squire took up the line of march of more than five hundred miles, to the Yadkin settlement, while Daniel was left in the cabin to his own solitary reflections. He thus remained alone in a vast wilderness, without bread, salt, or sugar, without the society of a fellow-creature, without the company of a horse, or even a dog, often the affectionate companions of the lone hunter. In reviewing this period of his life, he said, "I

confess, I never before was under greater necessity of exercising philosophy and fortitude. A few days I passed uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on account of my absence and exposed situation, made sensible impressions on my heart."

To relieve himself from the oppressive feelings of loneliness, he made a long tour of observation to the southwest, and explored the country along the waters of Salt and Green Rivers. The Indians were again abroad; and on his return he saw, by undoubted signs, that they had visited his cabin during his absence. Frequently at night he would retire to the woods, and lie in the cane-brake, without fire, that he might escape the vigilant observation of the wily savages.

On the 27th of July, his brother returned from North Carolina, and they met at the old camp on Red River. He rode one horse, and led another heavily laden with the necessaries required. The intelligence from his family was cheering. They were in good health and in comfortable circumstances.

Convinced that small parties of Indians were roaming over the country, hunting the buffalo, Boone and his brother well knew that two men, however skilful in the use of their weap-

ons, could hardly escape if attacked ; that their horses would betray them, and be a tempting object to Indian cupidity. Hence they resolved to leave that part of Kentucky, and explore the country on Cumberland River. Here they found the hills more abrupt, the soil of an inferior quality, and the game less plentiful. They continued their exploration over a large district, between Cumberland and Greene Rivers, where the timber was scattering and stunted in growth, the surface uneven, and abounding in what are called *sink-holes*, or depressions produced in a cavernous limestone country, by the sinking of the earth, from the action of water after heavy rains. They continued on the waters of the Cumberland region until March, 1771, when they returned in a north-eastern direction to the Kentucky River, where the soil appeared more fertile, and more heavily timbered. Here they resolved to fix the site of their projected settlement.

Having packed up as much peltry as their horses could carry, they departed for their families on the Yadkin, resolved to return and make this new country their future home. Daniel had been absent two years, during which time he had tasted neither bread nor salt, nor seen any other human being than his travelling companions, and the Indians who had taken him prisoner.

At the same period that Boone and his associates were exploring Kentucky, there were parties, without the knowledge of each other, on the waters of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. In June, 1769, a company of about twenty men, from North Carolina and Western Virginia, assembled on Reedy Creek, a branch of New River, with their horses and equipments for an exploring and hunting tour. They departed, on the 2d of June, for the country of Tennessee, passed over the dividing ridge to Holston River, thence to Powell's Valley, and through the Gap of Cumberland Mountain to the river of the same name, into what is now Wayne county, in Kentucky, where they made a camp for a general rendezvous, to which each party was to return and make a deposit every five weeks. They dispersed in small parties, and in different directions, and hunted throughout that district. At a later period, the whole party moved in a southwestern direction down the country, along the head waters of Roaring River and Caney Fork. After hunting eight or nine months, they returned in April, 1770. The same year, a company of ten hunters built two boats and two trapping canoes, loaded them with furs, venison, and bear's meat, and went down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers, to Natch-

ez, where they disposed of their venison and peltry. At the French Licks, now Nashville, they saw immense herds of buffaloes and other game, and an old fort, unoccupied, which they supposed had been erected by the Cherokees. Here had been a stockade and trading post for several years, by a company of Frenchmen from Kaskaskia, at the head of which was Timothy de Monbrun.

In 1771, Casper Mansco, who had twice visited the Valley of the Cumberland, came out again in company with James Knox, John Montgomery, Isaac Bledsoe, and several others. They encamped on Russell's Creek, a branch of Powell's River, where they wintered. The next season, they traversed the country down the waters of the Cumberland, to the region north of Nashville, and into the "barrens" of Kentucky. Here they met with another body of hunters, and soon after returned to New River. This party passed through the same district of country, that, a few weeks after they had left it, was visited by Daniel and Squire Boone. From the period of their absence, they obtained the name of the "long hunters."



## CHAPTER II.

*Boone attempts a Removal to Kentucky. — Attacked by the Indians. — Returns to Clinch River. — Sent by Governor Dunmore to bring in a Party of Surveyors from Kentucky. — Commands three Garrisons in Dunmore's War. — Commissioned to mark out a Road for the Emigrants. — Erects a Fort at Boonesborough. — Indians hostile. — Removes his Family to Kentucky. — Lexington. — Simon Kenton. — William Whitley. — Political Convention. — Capture of the Daughters of Boone, and their Rescue. — Indian Mode of Fighting. — Attack on Harrod's, Boone's, and Logan's Stations.*

ANXIOUS as Boone was to remove his family to the hunting grounds of Kentucky, more than two years elapsed before the necessary arrangements for the enterprise were effected. He sold his farm on the Yadkin, and made his preparations, having persuaded his wife and children to accompany him. 'This we might regard as a remarkable instance of indifference and hardihood, did we not know that Daniel Boone was as mild, humane, and affectionate, as he was bold and fearless, and did we not know that the wives of our western pioneers

are as courageous, and as ready to enter on the line of march to plant the germ of a new settlement, as their husbands.

On the 25th of September, 1773, the two brothers bade adieu to their friends and neighbors on the Yadkin, and entered on the perilous task of traversing the wilderness to the banks of the Kentucky. A drove of pack-horses carried their bedding, clothing, provisions, and other necessities; a number of milch cows furnished refreshment for the children; and these cows, with some young cattle and swine, were intended to constitute the herd of the western wilderness. At Powell's Valley, through which their route lay, they were joined by five families and forty men, all well armed. This accession of strength gave them courage, and the party advanced full of hope and confident of success. At night they encamped, as is still the custom of emigrating parties throughout the vast west.

The camping place is near some spring or watercourse; temporary shelters are made by placing poles in a sloping position, with one end resting on the ground, the other elevated on forks. On these, tent cloth, prepared for the purpose, or, as in case of these pioneers, articles of bed covering, are stretched. The fire is kindled in front against a fallen tree or

log, towards which the feet are placed while sleeping. If the ground is wet, twigs or small branches, with leaves and dry grass, are laid under the beds. Each family reposes under a separate cover, and the clothing worn by day is seldom removed at night. Provided with such accommodations, Boone and his family never imagined that they were less happy, than while reposing in the cabin they had left on the Yadkin.

The three principal ranges of mountains, over which their route lay, were then designated by the names they still bear, Powell's, Wallen's, and Cumberland. The last has a singular and romantic opening, called "The Gap," through which a well constructed road now passes. This Gap is near the junction of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Over the other mountains nature has formed passes, which render their ascent not difficult. The trail marked out by the brothers on their return to North Carolina was found and followed. The party had passed Wallen's Ridge, and was approaching the Cumberland Gap. Seven young men, who had charge of the cattle, had fallen into the rear some five or six miles from the main body, when, unexpectedly, they were attacked by a party of Indians. Six were killed; the seventh, though wounded, made his

escape, and the cattle were dispersed in the wilderness. This calamity happened on the 6th of October, and proved a sad and afflicting event to the pioneer; for his eldest son, James, a youth of about seventeen years of age, was one of the slain. The party in front heard the alarm, returned to the rescue of their friends and property, drove off the Indians, and buried the dead.

This calamity so disheartened and distressed the emigrants, that they gave up the expedition for the present, and returned back to the settlements on Clinch River, in the southwestern part of Virginia, a retreat of forty miles from the place of attack. Boone and his brother, with a few others, would have gone forward; but, having a large majority against them, they felt bound to submit. Here Boone remained till June, 1774, when a messenger from Governor Dunmore arrived in the settlement, with a request from him, that Daniel Boone would immediately go to the wilderness of Kentucky, and conduct from thence a party of surveyors, who were believed to be in danger from Indian hostilities. Boone was now in the fortieth year of his age, in the full vigor of manhood, with physical powers capable of great endurance, and a mind thoroughly trained by experience. To this enterprise he

was associated with Michael Stoner, another pioneer, who, in 1767, had hunted on Cumberland River, near the Hermitage, and who had explored the Cumberland Valley and the southern part of Kentucky. The enterprise was accomplished after encountering much difficulty. Of the journey no incidents whatever have been preserved, except the very imperfect statement of Boone himself, from which we learn that from the time he left home till he returned were sixty-two days, in which he travelled on foot eight hundred miles.

These surveyors had been sent out by the Governor some months previously, but longer stay was considered dangerous. Of this party, some of whom went to Kentucky the preceding year, were Thomas Bullett, Hancock Taylor, James Harrod, James, Robert, and George McAfee, and others. They descended the Ohio in canoes to the present site of Louisville, where they separated. Taylor and the McAfees went up the Kentucky River to Drennon's Lick, where, as at all the western salt springs, they saw immense numbers of buffaloes, deer, and other game, struggling and fighting for salt; and the paths made by these animals, in going and returning, were beaten like travelled roads, and by the hunters called *streets*. The party took one of these roads, or

*traces*, as they were more frequently called, which the buffaloes had made through the otherwise impassable cane-brakes, until they reached the Kentucky River, near the present site of Frankfort. Here they surveyed six hundred acres of land, being the first survey on the Kentucky River. They followed the ridge up that river, crossing the stream seven times, and making surveys and locations until they reached the mountains near the forks of the river; and from thence they returned through Powell's Valley, and across the mountains, to their friends in Botetourt county, Virginia.

Another party of surveyors went to Kentucky in the spring of 1774, landed at Louisville, and travelled up the Kentucky River on the north side to Elkhorn, and on the south side to the present site of Danville. This was the party for which Boone and Stoner were sent. During the same season, James Harrod led out a company from the Monongahela, who descended the Ohio River in canoes, and thence up the Kentucky River to the present site of Harrodsburg, where they erected a log cabin, said to be the first one built for a family residence in Kentucky.

While Boone was gone to Kentucky, the threatening appearances of the Shawanoes and

other Indians, northwest of the Ohio River, grew into open hostilities. The militia were called out, and Boone was appointed to the command of three contiguous garrisons on the frontier, with the commission of captain. The campaign terminated with the battle of Point Pleasant, at the junction of the Great Kenhawa and the Ohio Rivers; the severest and bloodiest battle ever fought with the Indians in Virginia. The colonial troops consisted of eleven hundred men, in three regiments, under the chief command of General Andrew Lewis. The Indians, who were more numerous than the whites, were commanded by the celebrated *Cornstalk*. The loss of the Virginians was seventy-five killed and one hundred and forty wounded. Cornstalk was the great chief of the Shawanese confederacy, and possessed talents and courage equal to those of any Indian chief.

Hostilities having ceased, the militia were discharged, and Boone returned to his family on Clinch River, and spent the following winter in hunting. The reports of Boone and others of the fertile lands in Kentucky excited certain persons in North Carolina to form a company, at the head of which was Richard Henderson, and to effect a purchase of the Cherokees, who they supposed held the In-

dian title south of the Kentucky River. After various attempts and failures at negotiation, the plan having been matured, they employed Daniel Boone to attend the proposed treaty at the Indian town of Watauga, situated on a south branch of the Holston. The object of the company in employing Boone was, to ascertain correctly the situation and quality of the tract in question. The purchase was successfully made, so far as the Indians were concerned; but the company was opposed by the authority of Virginia, which claimed by charter this country in the west. Nor did the British or the colonial governments regard any purchase of the Indians valid, when made by private persons.

After a long period of litigation, the matter was compromised by granting to the company certain lands on Green River.\* But the com-

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\* This company assumed the name of the *Transylvania Company*, and gave the same designation to their settlement. The consideration paid to the Cherokees by the company was ten thousand pounds sterling in goods. After a careful and protracted examination into the reasons, or motives, for the first expedition and long absence of Daniel Boone in the wilds of Kentucky, I am confirmed in the suggestion of Judge Hall. "It seems to be extremely probable," says he, "though we have no direct evidence of the fact, that his previous visits to Kentucky were made at the suggestion of those gentlemen, [Richard Hen-



pany, not aware of the defect of their title, proceeded to make arrangements for its survey and settlement, and Captain Boone was regarded as the proper person to conduct the enterprise. A road had to be explored, marked, and opened, to which service Boone was appointed, with a company of men well armed. The route was from the settlement on the Holston to the Kentucky River; much of the way was difficult. Abrupt hills to climb, thick cane-

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derson, Thomas Hart, Nathaniel Hart, John Williams, William Johnson, John Luttrell, John Hogg, David Hart, and Leonard H. Bullock, all from North Carolina.] And their confidence in his report induced them to make the purchase. It is certain from their letters to each other, many of which are in the possession of the writer, that they had obtained from some source a mass of accurate information, with which the public was not acquainted; and as they would naturally resort to some confidential and secret means through which to obtain such intelligence, we give credit to a rumor, which has reached us, that Boone was the agent employed for that purpose. These circumstances afford a new elucidation of the character of the intrepid pioneer; and, although they take nothing from the strong points of his character, entirely dissipate the romantic theories of some of his biographers, with regard to the motives which first led him to become a wanderer in the western wilderness." *Sketches of the West*, Vol. I. p. 252. This theory explains why his brother, Squire Boone, came out with supplies, and why they examined the country so fully and particularly between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers.

brakes and dense forests to penetrate, and exposure to attacks from hostile Indians, were amongst the difficulties to be encountered. The party had arrived within fifteen miles of Boonesborough, when they were fired on by the savages; two were killed, and two wounded. This was on the 22d of March, 1775. Three days afterwards they were again attacked; two more of the party were killed, and three wounded.\*

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\* The following letter, addressed to Colonel Richard Henderson, and copied from the original in Boone's handwriting, will explain some of these particulars in his own words.

“ April 1st, 1775.

“ DEAR COLONEL,

“ After my compliments to you, I shall acquaint you with our misfortune. On March the 25th, a party of Indians fired on my company about half an hour before day, and killed Mr. Twitty and his negro, and wounded Mr. Walker very deeply, but I hope he will recover.

“ On March the 28th, as we were hunting for provisions, we found Samuel Tate's son, who gave us an account that the Indians fired on their camp on the 27th day. My brother and I went down and found two men killed and scalped, Thomas McDowell and Jeremiah McPeters. I have sent a man down to all the lower companies in order to gather them all to the mouth of Otter Creek. My advise to you, Sir, is, to come or send as soon as possible. Your company is desired greatly, for the people are very uneasy, but are willing to stay and venture their lives with you; and now is the time to flusterate their [the In-

A site having been selected on the bank of the Kentucky River, on the 1st of April they commenced erecting a stockade fort, which was called *Boonesborough*. The Indians, stung to madness that white people should erect buildings on their hunting grounds, repeated their attacks, but without success; for, on the 14th of June, the works were so far completed as to afford adequate defence. This fort was built in the form of a parallelogram, and was about two hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and seventy-five feet broad. Houses of hewn logs, built in a square form, projected from each corner, adjoining which were stockades for a short distance; and the remaining space on the four sides, except the gateways, was filled up with cabins, erected of rough logs, placed close together, which made a sure defence. The gates, or doorways, were on oppo-

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dians'] intentions, and keep the country, whilst we are in it. If we give way to them now, it will ever be the case. This day we start from the battle ground, for the mouth of Otter Creek, where we shall immediately erect a fort, which will be done before you can come or send; then we can send ten men to meet you, if you send for them.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient

"DANIEL BOONE.

"N. B. We stood on the ground and guarded our baggage till day, and lost nothing. We have about fifteen miles to Cantuck, at Otter Creek."

site sides, constructed of slabs of timber, split several inches in thickness, and hung with stout wooden hinges.

The fort having been completed, Captain Boone left the men to guard it and prepare ground for a crop, while he returned to the settlement, on Clinch River, for his family. Other stations were made the same year.

It is here proper to inquire about the Indian claims to Kentucky, and whether there was any unfair or improper intrusion by Captain Boone and his associates on their territories. We have already seen, that whatever claim the Cherokees possessed they had transferred to Henderson and company. The Shawanoes, more than a century before, had roamed over Kentucky, but they do not appear to have been the original possessors of the country in the Indian sense. Their ancestors came from the southeast, where they resided when the Europeans first came to Virginia and Carolina. At what period they migrated to the northwest is uncertain.

A branch of the tribe was in Pennsylvania in 1680, and sent a deputation to the treaty of William Penn. They were attacked and conquered by the Six Nations, and driven from Kentucky to the country northwest of the Ohio, then called the *Ouabache*, and their

cousins, the Miamies, allowed them to occupy a part of Illinois and Indiana.

The Six Nations claimed territorial sovereignty over all the countries they conquered from the other tribes, and by virtue of this right, such as it was, they conveyed the whole district along and south of the Ohio, from the Cherokee River, (now the Tennessee,) to the eastern mountains, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768.\* Hence it appears, that, according to Indian ideas of title and possession,

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\* This treaty, in all its particulars, may be found in the *Virginia Gazette* of the 1st of December, 1768, Library of Congress; also in the Appendix to Butler's *History of Kentucky*. The right of the Six Nations to make this treaty has been disputed, and perhaps with good reason, since they ceded away the lands of distant tribes, of which they had never taken possession, and to which they had no other claim than what was founded on their aggressions. Conquest unprovoked, and without possession, to say the least, can give but a very questionable title. No doubt the Six Nations would have been ready to sell any lands on the continent, if they could have found purchasers; and, in the present instance, it was not for the interest of the English negotiators to raise scruples. They relied on the pretensions of the Six Nations, and made with them a treaty, without the coöperation or consent of the Indians, who occupied the lands. It is to be observed, that there were present in the council two deputies from the Delawares, and one from the Shawanoes; but neither of them signed the treaty, which bears the names only of the principal chiefs of the Six Nations. EDITOR.

their claims to Kentucky had passed over to the British government before the first visit of Boone. Again, in the treaty with the Shawanoes, at the close of Dunmore's war, 1774, they relinquished all claims to Kentucky. In these treaties with the English, no coercion appears to have been employed. The Indians, for a valuable consideration, voluntarily relinquished all their supposed claims. The Delawares, Miamies, Piankeshaws, Kickapoos, and other bands from the country northwest of the Ohio, who continued for several years their marauding expeditions across the Ohio, never set up any claims to the territory in question, other than the common right of hunting wild animals wherever they could be caught. Hence, if in any part of the United States the white people had a fair and equitable right of settlement, it was in Kentucky.

On his return to Clinch River, Captain Boone soon made the necessary preparations for the removal of his family. In his story, as told by Filson, he says, "We arrived safe, without any other difficulty than such as are common to this passage, my wife and daughters being the first white women that ever stood on the banks of Kentucky River."

Shortly after the arrival of Mrs. Boone and her family, the infant colony was reinforced

by the arrival of three families more ; Messrs. McGary, Hogan, and Denton, with their wives, reached Boonesborough. These families, with a number of men, making in all, in the language of the times, "twenty-seven guns," had started in company with Captain Boone from the settlement on Clinch River. On arriving at the head of Dick's River, a branch of the Kentucky, which interlocks with Salt and Green Rivers, Boone, with twenty-one men, went to Boonesborough, leaving his associates to find their way, by his directions, through the forest. This party, having got bewildered, left the horses and cattle with James Ray, John Denton, and John Hays, all youths from fifteen to eighteen years of age, while they attempted to find the trail. McGary, who commanded this party, finding no passage for the families and pack-horses about the junction of Dick's River with the main stream, owing to the lofty and precipitous cliffs, set off on foot to explore the way, and obtain a pilot.

He soon fell upon a trail, that led him to Harrod's Station, where he obtained the aid of James Harlan, as a pilot for the families. After three weeks had elapsed, the boys with the cattle were found, and conducted in safety to the fort. These same families were with

Captain Boone in his first attempt to remove to Kentucky, in 1773, and each had lost an eldest son by the attack of the Indians near Cumberland Gap.

The summer of 1775 deserves notice as the period of the establishment of other stations, and the arrival of many pioneers in the new territory. It is certainly singular, that, at the time of the outbreak of the revolutionary war, when it might seem that every arm able to strike a blow was specially needed for the defence of the Atlantic colonies, the colonization of the vast region on the waters of the Mississippi should have commenced. Surely wisdom and strength beyond that of man were concerned in the enterprise at such an eventful crisis. Harrod's Station and Logan's Fort, not far from Boonesborough, were at this time established. A party of hunters and land explorers were encamped on a delightful and fertile tract of country, on the head waters of the Elkhorn, when some emigrant, just arrived in the western wilderness, brought the news of the opening scenes of the war in the battle at Lexington. Patriotic feelings were instantly excited, and the name was transferred to the encampment as the embryo of a future city.\* Louisville had become a point of ren-

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\* Morehead's *Address*, p. 33.



devzvous for parties, who came down the Ohio in boats and canoes.

Among the numerous emigrants, that came to Kentucky this year, and who were soon identified with its history, were Simon Kenton, Colonel Benjamin Logan, John Floyd, William Whitley, and George Rogers Clarke. Simon Kenton was born in Fauquier county, Virginia, of poor but respectable parents, in 1755. At the age of nineteen he could neither read nor write; but he was of large size, tall, erect, robust, athletic, and of great energy. The indecision of a sweetheart, and the jealousy of a rival, led to a personal combat, in which his antagonist was felled to the ground; and Kenton supposed he was killed. Alarmed at the consequences, he fled to Western Virginia, and changed his name to that of Butler. In that region, and in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, he became distinguished as an expert woodsman, and was employed as a spy. He was a ranger and a spy in Lord Dunmore's campaign against the Indians, in 1774, and was present at the treaty.

In February, 1775, in company with two other men, he descended the Ohio, in a canoe, to the place where the town of Augusta is now situated, and spent the season in hunting along the waters of the Licking. Eventually

he became identified with the history of Kentucky, and the Indian wars of the northwest. He was taken prisoner by the Indians, and repeatedly sentenced to be burnt. He ran the gantlet thirteen times at different Indian villages. At one time he was tied to the stake, and a fire was kindled around him; but he was rescued by the notorious Simon Girty. He was with Colonel Clarke in the conquest of Illinois, and participated in Wayne's victory. After the treaty at Greenville, he settled in Ohio, where he sustained the character of a worthy citizen, was respected and beloved by all who knew him, and died some few years since, with the faith and triumph of a sincere Christian.

William Whitley was a native of Rockland county, Virginia, born in 1749, and brought up to hard labor on a farm. He had very little education from books; but his corporeal powers were fully developed, and he exhibited mental faculties of a high order. Having married Esther Fuller, in the month of January, 1775, and commenced housekeeping in a backwoods cabin, being in high health and dependent on his labor for a subsistence, he told his wife one day, that he had heard a fine report about Kentucky, and he thought they could get a living there with less hard work than in Vir-

ginia. "Then, Billy, if I were you, I would go and see," was the encouraging reply of the young bride. In two days she had his clothes in order, and he was on his way to Kentucky, in company with George R. Clarke.\* Such were the men and women, who were the pioneers of this great and flourishing state; and such are the men and women now building their cabins along the vales of Oregon.

The period of these emigrations, four hundred miles beyond the frontier settlements of Virginia and the Carolinas, was an eventful one in the history of our country. Hostilities had commenced at Lexington and Concord, and the Atlantic colonies were buckling on their armor for the deadly conflict with the mother country. British power and influence controlled most of the Indian tribes of the continent, and British gold gave terrible energy to the tomahawk and scalping-knife. The western pioneers were deceived by the treaty of Lord Dunmore, in 1774, and flattered themselves that they could settle the country unmolested. But, in twelve months after that treaty, the Indians of the south and of the northwest were supplied with arms and ammunition by the traders at the British posts on

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\* Marshall's *Kentucky*, Vol. I. p. 41.

the Mississippi, Wabash, and northern lakes, and aided and encouraged in hostile aggressions on the infant settlements of Kentucky. There was an unseen hand that directed the events of that period. An unseen, but infinite eye watched over the interests of the Great Valley of the west. The settlement of Kentucky led to the conquest of the British posts in Illinois and Indiana, in 1778, and eventually threw the wide valleys of the west under control of the American Union.

In connection with the events of 1775, we must not overlook the first political convention ever held in the Western Valley for the formation of a free government. At this period, the validity of the title of Henderson and Company to the Indian lands in Kentucky was not called in question by the settlers; and so many were the explorers, and so eager were the people to secure land, that, by the 1st of December, more than five hundred thousand acres had been entered in the office of the company. Leases were issued by "The Proprietors of the Colony of Transylvania, in America," by which the grantors were to receive "one moiety of all *gold*, silver, copper, lead, and sulphur mines;" and such rent as might be agreed upon, was to be paid "yearly and every year for ever." Had the title of

this company been valid, a large portion of Kentucky would have been subject to rent, paid to the heirs of these proprietors for ever. The decision against the rights of the company provided also for the settlers, by which their improvements and rights of settlement were secured. Acting, however, as they did, under the belief of the validity of the company's title, in the course of this year a convention of eighteen delegates, chosen by the people, assembled at Boonesborough, and, after acknowledging Henderson and company as lawful proprietors, "established courts of justice, and rules for proceedings therein; also a militia law, a law for the preservation of game, and for appointing civil and militia officers."\*

With the exception of one attack from a small party of Indians, in the month of December, in which one man was killed and another wounded, the winter and spring of 1776 wore away without any particular incident. The Indians, though by no means friendly, made no direct attack on the stations. The game of the woods produced an unfailing supply of provisions; the brush was cleared away, and the timber "deadened" around the stations, preparatory to the summer's crop. When-

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\* Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 30.

ever any of the community had occasion to pass into the woods beyond rifle shot from the fort, as the business of hunting and feeding their horses and cattle in the canes made it necessary, their steps were stealthy, their eyes glanced in every direction, and the faithful rifle was held in a position in which it could be used in the quickest manner for defence. The opening of spring brought many other emigrants to the country, amongst whom were Colonel Richard Callaway (an intimate friend of Boone) and his family, and also the family of Benjamin Logan, who had returned for them the preceding autumn.

On the 14th of July, 1776, Betsey Callaway, her sister Frances, and Jemima Boone, a daughter of Captain Boone, the two last about fourteen years of age, carelessly crossed the river opposite to Boonesborough, in a canoe, at a late hour in the afternoon.\* The trees and shrubs on the opposite bank were thick, and came down to the water's edge; the girls, unconscious of danger, were playing and splashing the water with the paddles, until the canoe, floating with the current, drifted near the shore. Five stout Indians lay there concealed, one of whom, noiseless and stealthy as the serpent, crawled down the bank until he reached the rope that hung from the bow, turned its course

up the stream, and in a direction to be hidden from the view of the fort. The loud shrieks of the captured girls were heard, but too late for their rescue. The canoe, their only means of crossing, was on the opposite shore, and none dared to risk the chance of swimming the river, under the impression that a large body of savages was concealed in the woods. Boone and Callaway were both absent, and night set in before their return and arrangements could be made for pursuit. We subjoin the narrative of Colonel Floyd, who was one of the party, remarking that this story was narrated to the writer by one of the captured party, twenty-eight years since, in terms substantially the same.

Colonel Floyd says, "Next morning by daylight we were on the track, but found they had totally prevented our following them, by walking some distance apart through the thickest canes they could find. We observed their course, and on which side we had left their sign, and travelled upwards of thirty miles. We then imagined that they would be less cautious in travelling, and made a turn in order to cross their trace, and had gone but a few miles before we found their tracks in a buffalo path; pursued and overtook them on going about ten miles, just as they were kindling a

fire to cook. Our study had been more to get the prisoners, without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us, than to kill them.

"We discovered each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired, and all rushed on them, which prevented them from carrying away any thing except one shot gun without ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had a pretty fair shoot, just as they began to move off. I am well convinced I shot one through, and the one he shot dropped his gun; mine had none. The place was very thick with canes, and being so much elated on recovering the three little broken-hearted girls, prevented our making further search. We sent them off without their moccasins, and not one of them with so much as a knife or a tomahawk." \*

It was now known that parties of hostile Indians were prowling through the forests, that their spies were watching each station,

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\* Butler's *Kentucky*, pp. 32, 33. Mr. Butler justly remarks, "These are the unembellished circumstances of a transaction, which a lively and most interesting writer has, through misinformation, historically disfigured into a beautiful romance." See Flint's *Life of Boone*, p. 89. The romantic incidents told by Mr. Flint, and the oath sworn by Boone, and administered to his followers, are fictitious.



and that dangers were thickening fast over the infant settlements. In cultivating their corn, or gathering in the harvest, guards were stationed, while the workmen labored in the field.

The Indian method of besieging a fort, village, or even a single cabin, is peculiar. They are seldom seen in any considerable force. They lie concealed in the bushes and weeds, or behind stumps and trees; they waylay the path, or the field, and in a stealthy manner cut off any persons that pass in their way. They will crawl on the ground, or assume and imitate the noise and appearance of swine, bears, or any other animal, in the dark. They will cautiously approach the gate or door in the night, and, concealed behind some object, stealthily and patiently watch for some one to pass out, when, with the arrow or the musket, they will cut him down, tear off his scalp, and disappear in the forest. Occasionally, as if to produce a panic, and throw their enemies off their guard, they will rush forward to the palisades, or walls, with fearful audacity, yelling frightfully, and even attempt to set fire to the buildings, or beat down the gateway. Sometimes they will make a furious attack on one side, as a feint to draw out the garrison, and then suddenly assault the

opposite side. Indians very seldom fight when exposed in the open field. They take to the trees or other objects for protection. They are not brave, but cunning and wary ; not cool and calculating, but sly and treacherous. Such was the enemy that assaulted the feeble garrisons of Kentucky. In the winter, they usually retreated to their villages and hunting grounds northwest of the Ohio. Had they possessed skill, and practised concentration, and unity of action, they could easily have cut off the stations in detail.

During the latter part of the summer, though a reinforcement was expected from Virginia, a panic prevailed. The land speculators and other adventurers, to the number of nearly three hundred, left the country ; and it required all the address of the calmest and bravest of the pioneers to quell the fears of the new comers, and prevent entire desertion. Terror and anxiety were general. Nor were quiet and safety restored in the following winter. It will be recollected, that this was an eventful year throughout the American colonies. They had disowned allegiance to Great Britain, and announced to the world their independence ; but the closing part of the year was one of the gloomiest periods of the American war.

The whole of the next year, 1777, was a

dark and discouraging time to the settlements of Kentucky. Frequently the stations were assailed by large bodies of Indians. Individuals were cut off by a concealed foe. Most of the cattle and horses had been destroyed. Hostilities continued. Early in March, an attack was made on Harrodsburg. The invading party, on their approach, surprised a party of laborers engaged in making a new settlement about four miles from the fort, killed one, took another prisoner, while the third, James Ray, a youth of fifteen, made a fortunate escape, and gave the alarm. They then approached, and laid a regular siege to the fort in the Indian mode, but were beaten off with the loss of one of their number. At Boonesborough they killed one man and wounded four others, but were driven away with some loss on their part. On the 4th of July, another party, of about two hundred, made a second attack on Boonesborough, which they besieged for two days, killing one man, wounding another, and, after a loss of seven of their party, raised the siege and retired.

It was fortunate for the infant settlements, that the Indians, who could have brought several hundred warriors into the field, chose to divide themselves into marauding parties, and attack the stations at the same time, so as to

prevent one from relieving the other. Had they brought their whole force against one, they could have made a breach, massacred the families, proceeded to the next, and in this way cut off every settlement. On the 19th of July, about two hundred Indians attacked Colonel Logan's Fort, killed two persons and wounded one. The loss of the Indians was not ascertained, for they always carry off their dead, unless entirely routed and suddenly driven from the field.

At that period, the effective force, according to Boone's statement, did not much exceed one hundred men. Boonesborough had twenty-two, Harrodsburg sixty-five, and Logan's Fort fifteen. A reinforcement of forty-five men, from North Carolina, reached Boonesborough on the 25th of July; and on the 20th of August, Captain Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Skirmishes continued almost daily; yet the Indians felt and acknowledged the superiority of the "Big Knives," as the Virginians were called, and became more circumspect and wary.

## CHAPTER III.

*Arrival of Colonel George Rogers Clark. — His Plan of defending Kentucky. — Plan adopted by the Governor and Council of Virginia. — Conquest of Illinois. — Habits of Boone. — Is taken Prisoner by the Indians. — Carried to Old Chillicothe, and thence to Detroit. — Brought back to the Indian Town, and adopted. — His sagacious Policy. — Escapes, and returns to Boonesborough. — Excursion to the Indian Country. — Siege of Boonesborough.*

AT this period, Colonel George Rogers Clark, who then bore the title of major, was actively engaged in a well concerted plan for the defence of Kentucky. This was no less than the conquest of the British posts in the north-west, whence the Indians received their supplies, and rewards for scalps and prisoners. It has been already noticed, that his first visit to Kentucky was in 1775; and from that time he identified himself with its interests, with an enthusiasm, which no speculation in its wild lands, nor pecuniary consideration, could have awakened. His appearance, as described by Marshall, was well calculated to attract atten-

tion. It was rendered particularly agreeable by the manliness of his deportment, the intelligence of his conversation, the vivacity and boldness of his spirit of enterprise, and the determination he expressed of becoming an inhabitant of the country. He fixed on no particular residence, was much in the woods, occasionally visiting the forts and camps, cultivating an acquaintance with the people, and acquiring accurate and extensive knowledge of the country.\* At his suggestion, a general meeting of the settlers was held at Harrod's station, to consult upon matters pertaining to their common interests. Clark and a man by the name of Jones were chosen delegates to the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Kentucky, at this period, had no representatives; but the appointment in this formal manner gave them consequence as the agents of the colony. They remained at Williamsburg after the adjournment, and obtained from the Governor and Council a quantity of ammunition, which they brought in safety to the country.

Clark saw that the main cause of Indian depredations in Kentucky existed in the British posts of Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia.

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\* Marshall's *Kentucky*, Vol. I. p. 46.

If these could be taken, the streams of Indian barbarity, which spread desolation through the colony, would be dried up, and a counteracting influence be exerted over the savages. So strong was this impression, that, in the summer of 1777, he sent two trusty spies, Moore and Dunn, to reconnoitre those remote posts. These emissaries, who went under the guise of hunters and traders with the Indians, returned successful, having obtained important facts, which confirmed Clark in the practicability of his project.

The plan required the utmost secrecy, and Clark never intimated to the Kentuckians his design, nor the intelligence he had received. In the month of October, he again visited Virginia, and divulged his project to Patrick Henry, the Governor, who took into his privy council George Wythe, George Mason, and Thomas Jefferson. To bring the direct object of the expedition before the House of Burgesses would defeat the enterprise; but, from that body, authority was obtained, and funds were appropriated, to raise troops for the defence of Kentucky; while private and confidential instructions from the Governor and Council were given to Clark, authorizing him, as a mode of defending Kentucky, to attack the British posts on the Wabash and Mississippi.

The boldness of this enterprise, the fortitude and perseverance of its prosecution, the secrecy and adroitness with which it was managed, and its triumphant success, render it one of the most remarkable incidents of the revolution. The conquest of the posts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, were accomplished in 1778, without the loss of an American.\*

During the campaign of Colonel Clark, in Illinois, Captain Boone was a prisoner with the Indians. To particularize all the services directly and indirectly rendered to the settlers, and to emigrants on the road, by this old pioneer, would extend this volume beyond its proper dimensions. As dangers thickened and appearances grew more alarming, as scouts came in with rumors of Indians seen here and there, and as the hardy and bold woodsmen sat around their camp fires, with the loaded rifle at hand, rehearsing, for the twentieth time, the tale of noble daring, or the hair-breadth escape, Boone would sit silent, apparently not heeding the conversation, employed in repairing the rents in his hunting shirt and leggins, moulding bullets, or cleaning his rifle. Yet the eyes of the garrison were

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\* An accurate account, in detail, of this expedition may be seen in Butler's *Kentucky*.



upon him. Concerning "Indian signs," he was an oracle. Sometimes, with one or two trusty companions, but more frequently alone, as night closed in, he would steal away noiselessly into the woods, to reconnoitre the surrounding wilderness; and in the daytime stealthily would he creep along, with his trusty rifle resting on his arm, ready for the least sign of danger; his keen, piercing eyes glancing into every thicket and cane-brake, or watching intently for "signs" of the wily enemy. Accustomed to range the country as a hunter and a scout, he would frequently meet the approaching travellers on the road, and pilot them into the settlement, while his rifle supplied them with provisions. He was ever more ready to aid the community, or engage in public services, than to attend to his private interests.

The people had suffered much for salt. The labor and cost of bringing it over the mountains on horseback were too great; and by that mode only could they obtain the necessities, which the wilderness did not furnish. It was decided, after due consultation, that thirty men, headed by Captain Boone, should take such kettles as could be spared, and proceed to the Lower Blue Licks, on Licking River, and there manufacture salt. The enterprise

was commenced on new year's day, 1778. Boone was commander, scout, and hunter for the party. Three men had been despatched to Boonesborough with the pack-horses and salt, which they had made, when, on the 7th of February, Captain Boone, who was engaged in hunting at some distance from the lick, was discovered by a party of Indians, one hundred and two in number, including two Canadians. He attempted to escape, but their swiftest runners were on his trail. There was no alternative. He was their prisoner. Adept as he was in Indian character, he knew how to please and how to foil them. This party was on a winter's campaign, an unusual movement for Indians, to attack Boonesborough. It was a trying time for the pioneer. A fearful responsibility rested upon his sagacity and decision. After parleying with them, and professing to be pleased with their company for eight days, he succeeded in gaining their confidence, and obtained favorable terms for his men. On their approach to the lick, he made signs to the salt-makers to offer no resistance, but yield themselves prisoners of war, on the promise of generous usage.

Censure has been cast on Captain Boone for the surrender of his men; and at a subsequent period, as will be seen, his conduct in

this affair was investigated by a court-martial. He well knew, that, if an attack was made on the garrison in their exposed and defenceless state, they would be overpowered, and the women and children would perish under the merciless tomahawk and scalping-knife, or be carried into a hopeless captivity. He could give the salt-makers no warning that they might flee to the fort. The British commander of the northwest, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, traded in human victims. For each prisoner and for each scalp rewards were given. Captain Boone, with intuitive discernment, regarded it a far less evil for him and his company to be made prisoners, than to risk the almost certain loss of Boonesborough, with the destruction of life that would follow. The issue proved his foresight.

Captain Boone says, "The generous usage the Indians had promised before, in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as prisoners to Old Chillicothe, the principal Indian town on Little Miamia, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey in very severe weather, on the 18th of February, and received as good treatment as prisoners could expect from savages. On the 10th day of March following, I and ten of my men were conducted by forty

Indians to Detroit, where we arrived on the 30th day, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity." \*

The Governor offered one hundred pounds sterling for his ransom, intending, as he said, to liberate him on parole, which the Indians positively refused. They fancied, from the contentment he manifested as a prisoner, and the interest he seemed to take in their affairs, that he would be a valuable acquisition to the tribe as a hunter and warrior. They entertained him well, showed him much affection, but persisted in taking him back to their town. A situation more vexatious to a spirit like his can hardly be imagined; yet so perfect were his habits of self-control, that he discovered not the least uneasiness in presence of his captors. The least attempt to escape would have alarmed the Indians, and made them vigilant in guarding him.

Several English gentlemen at Detroit made pressing offers of money and other necessities, which Boone refused, with many thanks for their kindness, alleging that he should never have it in his power to repay them, but in

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\* Boone's Narrative by Filson, in Imlay's *Discovery and Settlement of Kentucky*, p. 341.

reality because he suspected it was their intention, by such favors, to seduce him to desert the standard of his country. He parted with his companions in Detroit, and returned to Chillicothe, after a long and fatiguing march, in the month of April, where he was adopted by Blackfish, a distinguished Shawanese chief, after the Indian fashion, to supply the place of a deceased son and warrior. He wisely and cheerfully appeared to be reconciled to his new way of life.

The forms of the ceremony of adoption were often severe and ludicrous. The hair of the head is plucked out by a tedious and painful operation, leaving a tuft, some three or four inches in diameter, on the crown, for the scalp-lock, which is cut and dressed up with ribbons and feathers. The candidate is then taken into the river in a state of nudity, and there thoroughly washed and rubbed, "to take all his white blood out." This ablution is usually performed by females. He is then taken to the council-house, where the chief makes a speech, in which he expatiates upon the distinguished honors conferred on him, and the line of conduct expected from him. His head and face are painted in the most approved and fashionable style, and the ceremony is concluded with a grand feast and smoking.

The Indian father and mother of Boone regarded him with the kindness of a natural relation, and he was soon made aware, by proofs not to be mistaken, that he was actually beloved and trusted, as if the adoption had, to all intents, made him a member of the family and of the tribe. Regarded as a mighty hunter and a distinguished *brave*, he soon had the confidence and affections of the whole village. He was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, frequently engaged with them in hunting, and gained much applause at their contests in musket and rifle shooting. In these exercises he was careful not to excel them too frequently, lest he should excite their envy. He found it an easy matter to ingratiate himself with the chief, or Shawanese *king*, as he was called, and was treated by him with great respect. Still the cherished recollection of his wife and children at Boonesborough caused great anxiety, and prompted him to meditate on plans of escape, while, to avoid suspicion, he appeared as if happy and contented with his Indian relations. Whenever he was allowed to leave the village on a hunting excursion, the balls for his gun were carefully counted, and he was required to account in game for each ball and charge of powder. He ingeniously divided a number of balls, with the

halves of which he could kill turkeys, raccoons, squirrels, and other small game, and, by using light charges of powder, he contrived to save several charges for his own use, if he should find an opportunity to escape.

Early in June, he was taken to the salt springs, on the Scioto, to assist in the manufacture of salt, where he was employed ten days. On his return to Chillicothe, he was alarmed to see four hundred and fifty warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manner, preparing to march against Boonesborough. He had so far learned the Shawanese language, as to understand what they said; yet he sagaciously kept them ignorant of his proficiency. By mixing with the crowd, and seeming pleased with the war dances and other ceremonies, he learned their projected route, and decided at once to escape, and defeat their enterprise.

On the morning of the 16th of June, he arose, and, without suspicion, went forth on his morning's hunt as usual. He contrived to secrete some jerked venison, which he could eat while travelling. The distance to Boonesborough exceeded one hundred and sixty miles, which he travelled in less than five days, eating but one regular meal on the road, which was a turkey he shot after crossing the Ohio River. Until he left that river behind him,

his anxiety was great. He knew the Indians would follow him, and it required all his skill and tact, as a backwoodsman, to throw them off the trail. His route lay through forests, swamps, and across numerous rivers. Every sound in the forest struck his ear as the signal of approaching Indians. He was not an expert swimmer, and he anticipated serious difficulty in crossing the Ohio, which at that time, from continued rains, was swollen, and was running with a strong current. On reaching its bank, he had the good fortune to find an old canoe, which had floated into the bushes. A hole was in one end, but this he contrived to stop, and it bore him safely to the Kentucky side. His appearance before the garrison at Boonesborough was like one risen from the dead. His captivity and journey to Detroit were known by the report of prisoners that had escaped, and it was supposed he was held by the British authorities in Canada. His wife, despairing of his return to Kentucky, had transported herself and some of the children, on pack-horses, to her father's house in North Carolina.

The men, who had occupied the fort, had dispersed into the neighborhood, and, engaged in their ordinary avocations, had let the works get out of repair. Not a moment was to be



lost. The intelligence brought by Captain Boone, and the activity he inspired, soon produced the necessary repairs. New gates and double bastions were constructed, and, in the short space of ten days, each part was strengthened so as to stand a siege. One of the prisoners, who had escaped from the Indians, reported, that, in consequence of the elopement of Boone, they had postponed their expedition three weeks. The Indians had spies in the country, watching every movement, and were alarmed at the increase of the settlements and the strength of their fortifications. Councils were held by the confederated tribes northwest of the Ohio River, and aid was sought from the British authorities. They apprehended, that, if they should not exterminate the "Big Knives" during the season, they would grow too formidable by the next.

Early in August, Captain Boone, with nineteen men, made an excursion into the Indian country, to destroy a village on Paint Creek, a branch of the Scioto. When within four miles of the town, they met a war party of thirty Indians on their march for Kentucky; a battle ensued; one Indian was killed, and two wounded, when they gave way and fled. In such skirmishes, in almost all cases, the parties fight, each man singly with his adversary,

from behind trees ; and much adroitness is used by each to gain the advantage of the other. Three horses and all their baggage were taken, and no loss was sustained by the Kentuckians. Learning that the Indians had abandoned their town, and that a strong party of several hundred were on their way to Boonesborough, Captain Boone and his men immediately returned, and had the dexterity to spy out and pass this army of Indians and Canadians, and reach the fort in safety, and in season to give the alarm. The object of Boone, in this expedition, was to alarm the Indians for the safety of their own towns, and divert their attention from their premeditated attack on Boonesborough. It was a gallant and heroic affair for twenty men to march one hundred and fifty miles into the heart of the Indian country, surprise and defeat thirty warriors, and then effect a successful retreat in face of an enemy twenty times more numerous than their own force.

Shortly after their return, on the 7th of September,\* the whole force of the Indians, four

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\* Filson says, from Boone's dictation, that it was the 8th of August; and so say Marshall, Butler, Flint, and others, following the same authority. This is evidently a mistake, as Boone and his party, by his own showing, were in the Indian country at that time. We have followed, in this case, the date given by Colonel Bowman, in his letter to Colonel

hundred and forty-four in number, with Captain Duquesne and eleven other Canadians, having British and French colors flying, appeared before Boonesborough. The Indians were commanded by the noted Shawanese chief Blackfish; the Canadians were under the command of Captain Duquesne, who acted as interpreter, and represented the British authority on the occasion. This was the most formidable force ever arrayed against Boonesborough, and could not fail to fill the garrison with alarm. They now had to deal, not only with Indians, but officers and soldiers supposed to be skilled in the art of attacking fortified places; sufficiently numerous to direct, but too few to restrain, their savage allies. The summons was, "to surrender the fort in the name of his Britannic Majesty," with assurances of liberal treatment. It was a critical moment. The garrison contained between sixty and seventy men, with a large number of women and children. A powerful force was before

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G. R. Clark. The party was commanded by Blackfish, the Shawanese chief, and Boone's adopted father while a prisoner, and not by Duquesne, who acted as interpreter, and commanded the Canadians. Doubtless Duquesne had much to do, as a British officer, in dictating the terms of peace. Filson took notes from Colonel Boone, and wrote his book at leisure. Hence there are some mistakes in the "Narrative."

them, whose appearance proclaimed inevitable death, in the most horrid and cruel form, if they should be captured after resistance.

Even death might be preferable to a long and hopeless captivity. Their cattle and horses were not dispersed in the woods, and they were not prepared to stand a siege many days. A gleam of hope shone out amidst the darkness that surrounded them. Soon after the return of Boone from his captivity, an express had been sent for assistance to Colonel Arthur Campbell, on the Holston; and if time could be gained, the aid might arrive, and the assailants be beaten off. This fact, overlooked by most writers, explains the course of Captain Boone and his party in parleying with their enemies by treaty. Two days were requested by Captain Boone, that the garrison might consider the summons to surrender. So confident were the leaders of the enemy of success, that the time was granted. This period was employed to collect the cows and horses within the walls of the fort, to fill every vessel with water from the spring, which was done by females, and to prepare for a vigorous defence. Being unanimous in their decision to sustain the terrible conflict to the last moment, near the close of the second day, Captain Boone, from one of the bastions, announced to Captain Du-

quesne the determination of the garrison; adding, "We laugh at your formidable preparations, but thank you for giving notice and time to prepare for defence."

Contrary to all expectation, Captain Duquesne did not abandon the idea of a capitulation. He declared his orders from Colonel Hamilton were to take the garrison captives, to treat them as prisoners of war, and not to injure, much less to murder them; and that they had horses to take the women and children, and all others who could not bear the fatigue of travelling on foot. He then proposed, that, if the garrison would depute nine persons to come out of the fort and hold a treaty, the terms should be liberal. It is impossible at this time, after the demise of every person concerned in the affair, to account for the singular course of Captain Duquesne and his Indian allies.

The project of the treaty was intended as a feint, yet managed with very little art. It appears, that, with ordinary skill, with scaling ladders, or other suitable means, they could have entered the fort. The British officer and soldiers, with a strong force of Indians, ought to have taken this fort in less time than they were parleying. The heroism of the garrison deserves high applause. Captain

Boone was undaunted ; yet he was cool, cautious, and ready to adopt any expedient with hope of success. Every incident that would postpone a direct attack, and increase the chances of the arrival of a reinforcement from the Holston, was regarded as important.

Though suspecting treachery, it was determined, after consultation, to accede to the proposition of Duquesne, and hold a treaty. Eight persons, besides Captain Boone, were selected for the hazardous and responsible duty.\* The parties met on the plat of ground in front of the fort, and at the distance from it of about sixty yards. The terms offered were exceedingly liberal ; too liberal, as Boone and his associates saw, to come from honest intentions. The propositions were, that they should remain unmolested, and retain all their property, only submitting to the British authorities in

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\* It is to be regretted that the names of all the commissioners cannot now be given. Their names do not appear in a single document before the writer. He can, however, designate the names of five of the party, from four of whom he received an oral account of the siege. These were Daniel Boone, Flanders Callaway, Stephen Hancock, William Hancock, and Squire Boone. The four first named were living in Missouri, with whom he was personally acquainted, from 1818 to 1824. Boone and William Hancock died in 1820, Stephen Hancock in 1827, and Callaway in 1829.

Canada, and taking the oath of allegiance to the King. At the conclusion, the Indians proposed, that, on so great an occasion, to make the chain of peace more strong and bright, they should revive an ancient custom, and that two Indians should shake hands each with a white man, and that this should be the token of sincere friendship. Captain Boone and his associates were, from the first, prepared for treachery. Before they left the fort, twenty men were stationed with loaded rifles, so as to command a full view of all the proceedings, and ready for the slightest alarm. The parties on the treaty ground had no weapons, and were divested of all outside garments. As they had agreed to hold the treaty, it would have been regarded as a breach of confidence and a direct insult to refuse the proffered ceremony at the close. When the Indians approached, each pair grasped the hand and arm of their white antagonist. A scuffle ensued, for the Indians attempted to drag them off as prisoners. The Kentuckians either knocked down, tripped, or pushed off their antagonists, and fled into the fort. The fire from the vigilant guard at the same time threw them into confusion. The Indians rushed from their camp, and made a vigorous attack on the fort. One

person, Squire Boone, was wounded, but not severely.\*

The usual form of warfare was now kept up; the Indians firing incessantly at the fort, but doing little damage; while the besieged were cautious not to waste their ammunition, and only fired when execution could be done. The siege continued with very little intermission for nine days. At one period, they attempted to set fire to the fort, by throwing combustibles on the roof, which took fire, and threatened destruction to the garrison. A heroic young man took his station there, exposed to a shower of balls, while others handed up buckets of water till the fire was extinguished. The besieged had the advantage in the situation of the fort, for the Indians could not approach under cover nearer than one hundred yards, and their musket balls could not reach the fort, so as to do much execution; whereas the besiegers could not show themselves, with-

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\* Particular inquiries were made, by the author, of Stephen Hancock and Flanders Callaway, how it was possible for nine white men to overpower eighteen Indians. The reply was, that, expecting mischief, they were on their guard, and that Indians rarely possess physical powers equal to white men; but each declared he never could recollect how the feat was achieved. They felt assurance of success.



out feeling the effect of the sharp-shooting rifles of the Kentuckians. The women, no less heroic than the men, were actively employed in moulding bullets, loading the rifles, and providing refreshments.

The Indians tried another experiment, suggested probably by the Canadians, to enter the fort by a mine. The fort stood about sixty yards from the bank of the river. They began an excavation into the bank, which sheltered them from the rifles in the fort. Their project was detected by the muddy water seen at a little distance below, and it was defeated by the besieged, who began a countermine within the fort, and threw the dirt over the palisades.

On the 20th day of the month, Captain Duquesne and his Indian allies raised the siege, and departed to the Indian country to tell the story of their defeat in stratagem and fighting. They had thirty-seven killed, and many more wounded, while the Kentuckians had two men killed and four wounded, besides losing a number of cattle. The men in the garrison were sparing of their ammunition, for they fired their rifles only when an object was in sight, and then with a deadly aim, while their assailants exhausted their ammunition to very little purpose. According to the statement of

Captain Boone, one hundred and twenty-five pounds of musket balls were picked up around the fort, besides those that penetrated and were made fast in the logs.

This was the last direct invasion of Boonesborough. It exhibits the imbecility of mere physical force, destitute of science and military art. For what could have been easier for men of military skill and enterprise, with the knowledge and experience of constructing ladders, than to scale stockades twelve feet high, or mount cabin roofs, when their numbers were six times greater than those of the garrison? Such cowardice and imbecility might have been expected of Indians; but here were a dozen Canadians, one claiming the rank of captain, yet without skill or military enterprise. The fact that the garrison gathered up at least two thousand five hundred musket balls, which were so far spent that they could not penetrate oak logs, shows that the Indians fought at a respectful distance in order to obtain a covert.\*

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\* During the siege, Jemima, the eldest daughter of Boone, afterwards Mrs. Callaway, received a contusion in her hip, from a spent ball, while she was supplying her father with ammunition. While the parley was in progress, an unprincipled negro man deserted, and went over to the Indians, carrying with him a large, far-shooting rifle. He crossed the river, ascended a tree on its bank, and so

The singular treaty with the besiegers, after so prompt and decided a refusal, and the still more singular ceremony of allowing two Indians to shake hands with one white man, have been the subject of suspicion and censure. McClung remarks on the incidents of the siege, "We look here in vain for the prudence and

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placed himself that he could raise his head, look through a fork of the tree, and fire into the fort. One man had been killed and another wounded from that direction, when Captain Boone discovered the negro, by his head peering above the fork. The old hunter fired, and the negro was seen to fall. After the Indians had retreated, his body was found, and his forehead was pierced with the ball, fired at the distance of one hundred and seventy-five yards. The Indians, who buried or carried off their own dead, would not touch his body.

The following sketch is interesting, as having been written near the time when these events happened.

It is part of a letter from Colonel John Bowman to Colonel George Rogers Clark, dated Harrodsburg, October 14th, 1778.

"The Indians have pushed us hard this summer. I shall only begin at the 7th of September, when three hundred and thirty Indians, with eight Frenchmen, came to Boonesborough, raised a flag, and called for Captain Boone, who had lately come from them, and offered terms of peace to the Boonesborough people. Hearing that the Indians gladly treated with you at the Illinois, gave them reasons to think that the Indians were sincere; two days being taken up in this manner, till they became quite familiar with one another; but finding the Boonesborough people would not turn out, and having Colonel Callaway, Major Smith, Cap-

sagacity, which usually distinguished Boone ; ”\* and Mr. Butler quotes McClung, and expresses a similar sentiment.†

The fact of an express having been sent to Colonel Campbell for aid, and the importance of gaining time, appear not to have been known to these authors. Captain Boone and his men knew that there was less danger in

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tain Boone, Captain Buchanan, and their subalterns, eight in number, in the lick, where they had their table, (you know the distance is about eighty yards,) the Indians getting up, Blackfish made a long speech, then gave the word, ‘Go.’ Instantly a signal gun was fired; the Indians fastened on the eight men, to take them off; the white people began to dispute the matter, though unarmed, and broke loose from the Indians, though there were two or three Indians to one white man. On running the above distance, upwards of two hundred guns were fired from each side; and yet every man escaped but Squire Boone, who was badly wounded, though not mortally. He got safe to the fort. On this a hot engagement ensued for nine days and nights; constant fire without any intermission; no more damage was done, however, but one killed and two wounded. The Indians then dispersed to the different forts, where they still remain in great numbers, and waylaying our hunters.”

Colonel Bowman was not present at the siege, and derived his information from hearsay; hence there are several mistakes in his letter; especially in the number of the invaders, and the number and names of the men engaged in the proposed treaty.

\* Sketches of Western Adventure, p. 63.

† History of Kentucky, p. 98.

flattering the Indians, by a seeming compliance with their wishes and pretended customs, than in giving direct offence by a refusal. We can see prudence and sagacity in the whole management. That Boone and his friends should have signed a treaty, in which the main condition was subjection to the authorities of Canada, and allegiance to the King of Great Britain, appears at first view a little more questionable. For the character and terms of the treaty, we rely upon the testimony of Stephen Hancock and Flanders Callaway, orally given to the writer.

But before we judge harshly of this act, we must consider the circumstances under which they were placed. The colonies had disowned all allegiance to Great Britain by the declaration of independence; but the question was far from being decided. Kentucky was then a remote part of Virginia, which at that period was unable to render the settlement any efficient aid. The troops raised by Colonel Clark were on a hazardous and doubtful enterprise into the country of the Illinois. Boonesborough was a feeble garrison, with about fifty effective fighting men, now besieged by a force nine times their number. Terms of a most favorable kind were offered; the only onerous condition being that which required allegiance

to the King. No requisition was made, that they should take up arms against their country. Hundreds of persons, whose patriotism remained unquestioned, under the pressure of circumstances, had been compelled to give in their adhesion to British authority. Besides, Boone and his men were anxiously and hourly expecting a reinforcement, which would have turned the scale. And they saw in the terms of the treaty evidence of fraud. They knew well that the treaty would never be carried into effect. Every moment of time they gained was precious. No end could be gained by resistance, till the enemy should commit some overt act, that would nullify the whole procedure, and give them an opportunity to fight on the defensive. This was soon given in the treachery of the Indians while shaking hands.

The termination of the affair in the discomfiture of such an unequal force, by a handful of resolute men, was manifestly a signal interposition of divine Providence, and was so regarded by the besieged party. We have heard some persons, who were on the treaty ground, and among these the old pioneer himself, speak of their deliverance in terms of devout gratitude.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Boone tried by a Court-martial, and honorably acquitted and promoted. — Visits North Carolina and Virginia. — Lexington settled. — Indian Assaults. — Colonel Bowman's Expedition against Old Chillicothe. — Colonel Clark commands an Expedition into the Indian Country. — Major Boone returns with his Family. — Attacked by Indians, and his Brother killed. — Receives the Commission of Lieutenant-Colonel. — Indian Skirmishes. — The McAfees. — Characters of McKee and of Simon Girty.*

AT some time subsequent to the siege of Boonesborough, Captain Boone was summoned before a court-martial, where sundry charges were exhibited and investigated. The court assembled at Logan's Station. The charges were brought forward by Colonel Richard Callaway, aided by Colonel Benjamin Logan, and were in substance the following.

1. Surrendering the company of salt-makers, when he was taken prisoner at the Blue Licks.

2. Manifesting friendly feelings towards the Indians while a prisoner, and offering to surrender Boonesborough, have the people removed to Detroit, and live under British protection and jurisdiction.

3. Taking off a party of men from Boonesborough, in his expedition to the Scioto, and thus weakening the garrison, when he had reason to believe the Indians were about to invade the fort.

4. That, at the siege of Boonesborough, he was willing to take the officers to the Indian camp, on the invitation to make peace, and thus endanger the garrison.

Captain Boone made his own defence, assigned reasons why he surrendered the party who were making salt, and added, that his friendly conduct towards the Indians, and his offer of surrendering Boonesborough, was to deceive them, and find out their intentions; that the expedition to the Scioto was to alarm them, by putting them on the defence of their own towns, and, by this method, divert them from Boonesborough; and that, during the siege of that garrison, his main object was to gain time, in the hope that a reinforcement would arrive for their relief. After a full investigation, he was honorably acquitted, and the confidence of the people in his patriotism and sagacity was confirmed and increased. He was also promoted to the rank of major.\*

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\* The fact of this court-martial is not found in any history of the time. The authority for the statement is the



In the autumn of 1778, Major Boone went to his wife and family in North Carolina. During his absence in the Indian country, his wife, supposing him to be dead, or in hopeless captivity, had returned to her father's house, on the Yadkin, with some of her children. The establishment of a Court of Commissioners, by the legislature of Virginia, in 1779, to hear and determine all disputes relative to land claims in Kentucky, and to grant certificates of settlement and preëmption to such persons as were entitled to them, brought out a large number of families and single persons, who were interested in such claims. Major Boone "laid out the chief of his little property to procure land warrants, and, having raised about twenty thousand dollars in paper money, with which he intended to purchase them, on his way from Kentucky to Richmond he was robbed of the whole, and left destitute of the means of procuring more. This heavy misfortune did not fall on himself alone. Large sums had been intrusted to him by his friends for similar purposes, and the loss was exten-

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late Colonel Daniel Trabue, of Kentucky, who was present at the trial, and furnished the account from memory to Mr L. C. Draper, from whose manuscript records we have copied the particulars.

sively felt.”\* No further particulars of this robbery can be found. Doubtless suspicion rested on him, not for dishonesty, but for carelessness; yet his friends, and those who suffered by his misfortune, retained entire confidence in his integrity, sympathized in his calamity, and cheerfully gave up their claims.

The following extract from a letter written by Colonel Thomas Hart, late of Lexington, Kentucky, to Captain Nathaniel Hart, dated Grayfields, August 3d, 1780, is a proof of this confidence, and is, moreover, an important tribute to the character of Boone.

“I observe what you say respecting our losses by Daniel Boone. I had heard of the misfortune soon after it happened, but not of my being a partaker before now. I feel for the poor people, who, perhaps, are to lose even their preëmptions; but I must say I feel more for Boone, whose character, I am told, suffers by it. Much degenerated must the people of this age be, when amongst them are to be found men to censure and blast the reputation of a person so just and upright, and in whose breast is the seat of virtue, too pure to admit of a thought so base and dishonorable. I have

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\* Governor Morehead's *Address*, p. 104. Boone's *Memorial to the Legislature of Kentucky*, 1812.

known Boone in times of old, when poverty and distress held him fast by the hand; and in these wretched circumstances I have ever found him of a noble and generous soul, despising every thing mean; and therefore I will freely grant him a discharge for whatever sums of mine he might have been possessed of at that time." \*

Boone says, according to Filson, "The history of my going home, and returning with my family, forms a series of difficulties, an account of which would swell a volume, and, being foreign to my purpose, I shall omit them."

Unacquainted with the niceties of law, the few lands he was enabled afterwards to select, he informs us, "were, through his ignorance, generally swallowed up and lost by better claims." The law itself was vague, and the proceedings of the court, and the certificates granted to the claimants under the law, were far more indefinite and uncertain. The descriptions of tracts were general, the boundaries not well defined, and consequently the claims interfered one with another. Each family that settled on any waste or unappropriated lands belonging to Virginia, upon the western waters,

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\* Morehead's *Address*, p. 105.

was entitled to a preëmption right on any quantity of land not exceeding four hundred acres; and, upon the payment of two dollars and twenty-five cents on each one hundred acres, a certificate was granted, and a title in fee simple confirmed.

Each settler could select and survey for preemption any quantity of waste or unappropriated lands, not exceeding one thousand acres to each claimant, for which forty dollars for each hundred acres were required. Payments could be made in the paper currency of Virginia, which had depreciated greatly. The officers and soldiers of the Virginia Continental line were allowed bounty lands in the same district, and were allowed, one year after their resignation or discharge, to claim their rights and make their location. The effects of these privileges were retrospective, and tended to destroy previously allowed claims. The results of these arrangements were a long series of lawsuits on land titles in Kentucky; and many a worthy claimant, besides Boone, after exhausting his vigor of life in settling and defending the soil of Kentucky, was divested of an improved farm and the uncultivated lands intended for his children. Subsequent acts of the Virginia legislature made still more liberal provision for the poor, by allowing credit upon

the cost of the land ; but the same ruinous consequences from conflicting claims were the result.\*

In April, 1779, a block-house was erected on the site of Lexington, which at that time contained "three rows of cabins." The town was settled under the auspices of Colonel Robert Patterson, John Morrison, James Masterson, the M'Connells, and other families. Bryan's Station, about five miles distant, in a northeastern direction, was established the same year. Many other "stations" were made south and west of Kentucky River, from Boonesborough to

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\* The following specimen of the record of the court illustrates the vague manner, in which tracts of land were described in the certificate of entry.

"Michael Stoner this day appeared, and claimed a right of a settlement and preëmption to a tract of land lying on Stoner's Fork, a branch of the south fork of Licking, about twelve miles above Licking Station, by making corn in the country in the year 1775, and improving said land in the year 1776. Satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that the said Stoner has a right to a settlement of four hundred acres of land, including the above-mentioned improvement, and a preëmption of one thousand acres adjoining the same, and that a certificate issue accordingly."

"Joseph Combs this day claimed a right to a preëmption of one thousand acres of land lying on Comb's, since called Howard's Creek, about eight miles above Boonesborough, on both sides of the creek, and about three or four miles

Louisville, and also on the forks of the Licking. Annoyance from the Indians still continued. Repeated attacks were made upon boats, as they descended the Ohio River, and occasional depredations were committed on the settlements. To punish these assaults, an expedition was planned and authorized against Old Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, to be commanded by Colonel John Bowman. The rendezvous was fixed at Harrodsburg. Some of the most efficient men in the country were engaged in the expedition, both as officers and private soldiers. About three hundred men

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from the mouth of it, by improving the said land, by building a cabin on the premises, in the month of May, 1775. Satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that the said Combs has a right to a præemption of one thousand acres, including the said improvement, and that a certificate issue accordingly."

The Court of Commissioners were appointed by the Governor, with the advice of the Council of State, consisting of four persons, three of whom made a quorum. The sessions were held at different places in Kentucky, to accommodate the settlers, for the space of one year, during which about three thousand certificates were granted. The foregoing cases from the record illustrate the vague and indefinite descriptions of localities. Many were rendered null from a more definite and specific survey, covering the same land. Many of the old pioneers, besides Boone, lost the lands they had entered and improved, and subsequently left the state.

were raised, who marched to the Indian country, in the month of July, with their provisions on their backs. The movement was conducted with secrecy, and the party was not discovered until they approached the town in the night. Captain Benjamin Logan, who commanded the advanced corps, was ordered to invest the town on one side, while the main party, under Colonel Bowman, surrounded it on the other. Logan executed his task with skill and heroism. The alarm was first given by an Indian dog, and by an imprudent act of a soldier in discharging his gun.

This happened at the dawn of day. The women and children fled to the woods; the men took shelter in a strong cabin, while Captain Logan and his men occupied other cabins, and were about constructing a movable breastwork of the plank of the floors for their defence. At this crisis, Colonel Bowman at a distance ordered a retreat; a negro prisoner having told him that Simon Girty, with one hundred Mingoës, was at the Pickaway town, and would soon appear for the rescue of the Shawanoës. This was a most unlucky movement; for, on their retreat, Captain Logan's men were exposed to a destructive fire while crossing the arm of a prairie, and sustained the loss of eight or nine men. They succeeded in burning the

town and capturing one hundred and sixty horses. The celebrated chief Blackfish, who had commanded the party which made Boone prisoner near the Blue Licks, and again at the siege of Boonesborough, was chief of this town. He followed the retreating army with about thirty warriors, and was killed. Colonel Bowman had proved himself a gallant and experienced officer on former occasions. He had been with Colonel Clark in his conquest of Illinois the preceding year; but in this expedition he committed a serious mistake. He was afterwards esteemed as a worthy and useful citizen, but his military exploits ended with this campaign.

The success of Colonel Clark in the Illinois country, and his recapture of Vincennes, and taking Colonel Hamilton prisoner, aroused the British authorities at Detroit, and a formidable expedition was prepared against Kentucky. This force consisted of six hundred Indians and Canadians, commanded by Colonel Byrd. Two field-pieces\* were brought from Detroit to the waters of the Great Miami, and down that river and up the Ohio to the mouth of the Licking, thence up that stream to a landing-place, whence a road was cut towards

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\* Butler's *Kentucky*, Vol. I. p. 110.



Ruddle's Station. This party were not discovered until they appeared before the station. This happened on the 22d of June. The formidable force, with artillery, the first ever brought into Kentucky, with the summons "to surrender at discretion to the arms of his Britannic Majesty," left no alternative. Resistance was hopeless. The gates were opened, and the Indians rushed in to secure the prisoners and to plunder the property. This post was on the south fork of the Licking River. Higher up was Martin's Station, which was also taken in the same manner.

The prisoners and plunder being collected, a rapid retreat was made, which many of the prisoners, and especially the women and children, could not sustain, loaded as they were with the property taken. The tomahawk and scalping-knife soon relieved the party of all such encumbrances, which Colonel Byrd, a British officer, had neither the will nor power to prevent. The survivors were dispersed amongst the Indians, or carried to Detroit, whence they returned after an absence of several years. It was a merciful Providence, that prevented this force from continuing its depredations on the other forts; for at that time not three hundred fighting men could be mustered at all the stations north of the Kentucky River, and their

united force could scarcely have resisted such a formidable invasion.

Colonel Clark having returned to his post at Louisville, an expedition was fitted out, under his command, for another invasion of the Indian country. Volunteers were raised in addition to the regular force under his command. The direct object of attack was a principal town of the Shawanoes, called Pickaway on a branch of the Great Miami. This expedition was conducted with prudence and despatch. The conflict was sharp, but, seventeen of their warriors having fallen, the rest fled. Their town was burnt, and their gardens and fields destroyed. Colonel Clark lost seventeen of his men, and several were disabled by wounds.

With all these difficulties, the emigration continued to increase, and new stations were formed. After the misfortune of being robbed, as already narrated, Major Boone returned with his family to Boonesborough, in 1780. In October, he went to the Blue Licks, accompanied by his brother, and on returning they were fired on by Indians lying in ambuscade. His brother was killed and scalped; and he was pursued, by the scent of an Indian dog, which he dexterously shot, and by that means escaped. This calamity was heavy, and for a time

preyed on his mind. The feelings of fraternal attachment were strong, and increased by fellowship in wanderings and sufferings for many years.

The uncommon severity of the following winter, remembered throughout the country as the "hard winter," kept the Indians in their own territory; but it caused great distress in the settlements of Kentucky. Much of their corn had been destroyed the preceding summer, and the inhabitants lived chiefly on the flesh of the buffalo.

Kentucky having been divided into three counties by the legislature of Virginia, a civil and military organization became necessary. John Todd, an estimable and popular man, was made colonel, and Major Boone lieutenant-colonel, for Lincoln county. Each county formed a regiment, and the militia of the whole territory a brigade. Colonel Clark received the commission of brigadier-general. His mode of defending the country was by dispersing spies and scouting parties over the frontiers, who reported to head-quarters at Fort Nelson, now Louisville. He also constructed a row-galley to move up and down the Ohio River, between the Licking and the Falls.

Towards the autumn of 1781, marauding parties of Indians again visited the frontier set-

tlements of Kentucky. Boonesborough being now interior, and surrounded with stations, was unmolested. In September, the people at a station made near the present site of Shelbyville became alarmed at the signs of Indians, and attempted to remove to Fort Nelson. They were attacked by a large body of the enemy, defeated, and dispersed. Colonel Floyd raised twenty-five men, which he divided into two parties; and, though a leader of prudence and caution, he was drawn into an ambuscade, and lost nearly half his men. About ten savages were killed. Their numbers were three times greater than those of Floyd.\* An incident occurred in this action illustrative of the generosity and magnanimity, which was not unusual amongst the rude men of the frontier. Colonel Floyd and Captain Samuel Wells had not been friendly, the latter alleging that he had sustained an injury from the former. Colonel Floyd was retreating on foot; being closely pursued, and nearly exhausted, he must, without aid, have fallen into the hands of the Indians. Captain Wells, who was on a spirited horse, and making a successful retreat, saw his situation, dismounted, helped him on his own horse, ran on foot by his side, and thus

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\* Marshall's *Kentucky*, Vol. I. p. 116.

enabled him to escape. No man knew better than Colonel Floyd how to value a generous action. They lived and died firm friends from that day.

Amongst the resolute and active men of Kentucky were three brothers, Samuel, James, and Robert McAfee, who made a station in the neighborhood of Harrodsburg. They were vigorous, athletic men, of honorable principles, and members of the Presbyterian church. Their lot was like that of other pioneers, in being brought repeatedly into deadly conflict with the Indians. On a beautiful morning in May, 1781, Samuel McAfee and another man, being on their way from the station of James McAfee to that of a neighbor, were fired upon by an Indian, and the man fell. McAfee turned, and ran towards the fort, and in a few yards met another Indian in the path. Each attempted to fire at the same moment; but the Indian's gun missed fire, while the ball from McAfee's rifle pierced his heart. Still continuing his retreat, McAfee met his two brothers, Robert and James. The first, though warned of the danger, rushed forward to have a look at the dead savage; but several Indians sprang into the path, and intercepted his retreat. His energy and activity were now put to a severe test, for he had to run from tree

to tree, as he approached the fort. He succeeded in reaching a field, and threw himself over the fence, which served for a shelter, while an Indian took to a tree; but the instant he cast his eye around to obtain a view of his antagonist, a ball from McAfee's rifle pierced his skull. James McAfee was in equal peril. Five Indians, in ambush, fired at him in succession, but missed him; and after a perilous exposure he reached the fort. In a few moments, the fort was assailed, and while the men handled their rifles, the women cast the bullets. The firing was heard at the other stations, and Major McGary and forty men were soon on the trail of the Indians, whom they overtook and routed. Such were the incidents of Indian warfare in Kentucky, and such the fortunate escape of the brothers.\*

The year 1782 was attended with several marauding enterprises into Kentucky by the Indians, and with considerable fatality to the whites. Amongst other calamities was that of the defeat of Captain Laughery, who was coming down the Ohio River to aid the Kentuckians, with one hundred and seven men. He was attacked near the mouth of a creek, a few miles below the Miami River, which

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\* Marshall's *Kentucky*, Vol. I. p. 117.

still bears his name, and the whole party were killed or captured.\*

But one of the most disastrous incidents in the heart of Kentucky, in May, 1782, was the defeat of Captain Estill. The station called by his name was situated on the south side of the Kentucky River, above Boonesborough. A party of twenty-five Wyandots made an attack on it, killed one white man, took a negro prisoner, killed the cattle, and then retreated. Captain Estill raised a company of twenty-five rangers, and pursued the Indians, whom he overtook on Kingston Fork of the Licking River. They had just crossed a creek, and were ascending the hill, as Estill's party came in sight, and fired on them. Their chief, though wounded, was a brave fellow, and gave orders to his men to stand and fight. As usual in such skirmishes, each party took to the trees for defence, within sixty yards of each other. The firing was deliberate. Each man watched his antagonist, who looked out with caution; but no sooner was any portion of the head or body exposed, than it was a fatal mark for a rifle ball. Such was the bravery and determination on both sides, that one half of each party fell, and several more were se-

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\* Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 120.

verely wounded. Estill's men were the sharpest shooters, but the Indians were the most expert at hiding. After two hours of cool, deliberate fighting, the survivors of each party retreated. The brave Captain Estill was among the slain. This desperately fought action, and the loss sustained, produced serious alarm throughout the colony. Various other skirmishes took place; and scarcely a week passed without loss of life among the inhabitants.

Amongst the Indians northwest of the Ohio were two white men of the names of McKee and Girty, whose agency and influence were most disastrous to the frontier settlements. Colonel McKee was an official agent of the British government, and obtained great influence over the tribes of the northwest, and had an infamous notoriety for the atrocities committed under his sanction, and the success of his intrigues. His name must ever remain associated with the darkest deeds recorded in western history. Doubtless the barbarities committed on the defenceless inhabitants, and even on prisoners, in his presence and by his sanction, have been exaggerated by rumor, and magnified by the resentment of those who have suffered by his cruelties; yet enough appears of known, official conduct, attested by American officers of high station, and by wit-



nesses of unimpeachable character, to blast his reputation and cause his name to be held in abhorrence. His wretched policy of exciting the Indians to most bloody and ferocious attacks on the defenceless settlers, furnishing them with arms and ammunition, and paying them for prisoners and scalps, and then suffering them to torture their prisoners in his presence, was as destructive to the peace of the American settlements, as it was ruinous, in the end, to the unhappy savages, who were made the instruments of his vengeance. Nor were these acts confined to the war of the revolution. They were followed up in that disastrous period of Indian hostilities that succeeded, till their entire subjugation by Wayne, and the relinquishment of the western posts by the British government.

Simon Girty was a native of Pennsylvania, a soldier and spy under Lord Dunmore, and a companion of Simon Kenton, in the campaign of 1774.\* Either as a consequence

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\* Governor Morehead's *Address*, p. 90.

There were four brothers by the name of Girty, who were natives of Shennan's Valley, in Pennsylvania. Their father had been killed by the Indians, and their mother had married again, when their house was burnt, and the whole family taken prisoners by the Indians, in 1755, and brought to Fort Kitanning, where the step-father of the

of crimes, or of some injury which he alleged he had received, he fled from his native country and the abodes of civilization, and became an Indian in principle and manners, as much as in habit. His life was spent in a series of acts of unparalleled atrocity against his countrymen. He professed allegiance to the British government, and had a trading house on the Sandusky River, where he resided for many years. It is not known that he held any commission from the British; yet he was the companion and the subordinate of Colonel McKee, and was known to have the countenance and protection of that officer. Many of the marauding expeditions on the frontier settlements were of his planning, and some of them he

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Girtys was burnt at the stake in their presence. The brothers' names were Simon, George, James, and Thomas. After the horrid massacre of their step-father, the mother and four brothers were sent off among the different tribes of northwestern Indians. Thomas made his escape, fell in with General Armstrong, and got back to Western Pennsylvania, where he remained a worthy citizen to the close of his life, which took place on the 3d of November, 1820, in the ninetieth year of his age.

The rest of the family were exchanged, in the year 1758, at General Forbes's treaty. Simon, George, and James left Pennsylvania about the commencement of the revolutionary war, probably being Tories, took up their residence among the Indians, and became the most bitter enemies of their race.

led in person. He became an Indian by adoption, imbibed their ferocious and bloodthirsty temper, acquired their habits, participated in their councils, inflamed their passions to madness by his speeches, and goaded them to deeds of cruelty and vengeance. He seemed to delight in all the refinement of Indian torture, and witnessed and aided in the burning of many a prisoner. The shrieks and groans of helpless women and children, while butchered in the most horrid forms by ruthless savages, were music to his soul.\*

But, as if to afford testimony that he was really a man, and not a demon incarnate, a solitary act of humanity stands out in bold relief on the page of his history. The capture of Simon Kenton by the Indians has already been mentioned. When brought into the council-house, Girty, as the common interpreter, questioned him about the number of men in Kentucky and other particulars. He had just returned from an unsuccessful expedition against the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, and, burning with disappointment and revenge, he determined to wreak his vengeance on the

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\* See the account of the burning of Colonel Crawford, in the narrative of Dr. Knight, contained in *Incidents of Border Life*, pp. 134, 135.

prisoner. On inquiring his name, he was answered in reply, "Simon Butler." Kenton, under that name, and Girty, had served as spies, been companions in Dunmore's campaign, and had become warmly attached to each other; for, at that time, the latter had not abandoned his countrymen for the society of savages. The feelings of former friendship were awakened in Girty. He threw his arms around the neck of Kenton; then turned and addressed the astonished warriors in a short speech, and, with energy and entreaty, claimed the prisoner as his ancient comrade and friend; saying that they had shared the same blanket, travelled on the same war path, and slept in the same wigwam.

The speech was listened to with entire silence. Several warriors expressed their approbation by their customary guttural interjection. Others opposed his release, and urged the decision of the council already made known. Besides, Kenton had been guilty of a crime, which, in Indian ethics, was scarcely pardonable; for he was taken in the act of attempting to cross the Ohio, with a drove of horses, which he and others had stolen from their village. True it is, the horses were first stolen from the stations in Kentucky; but this was, in their council, no apology for the act. Had he fallen

upon their village, and killed or scalped a dozen families, he might have been honorably spared ; but to retake the horses they had risked so much to obtain was too much. He was sentenced to the severest torture. The great council had decided that he must "eat fire." Girty again spoke, urged his own prowess and faithful services ; the scalps he had brought home on his late expedition ; that he had never before asked the life of a prisoner, and never would again. Fresh speakers arose on each side, and the debate continued two hours. At length the war club was produced, and the final vote decided in favor of Kenton. Girty then led him to his own cabin, and from his stock of merchandise furnished him with necessary clothing.\*

Simon Girty's two brothers, James and George, were also adopted by the Indians, but were of less notoriety in savage exploits. Many of the murderous invasions of Kentucky may be traced to the influence and agency of McKee, Girty, and other abandoned white men in the Indian country. In some cases,

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\* The mode of voting, on such occasions, is to pass the war club round the circle to each brave. They who strike it on the floor of the council-house vote for his death, while these who decide to spare the prisoner let the club pass them in silence.

captives taken in childhood were adopted into some family of braves, to supply the place of a deceased warrior; and they afterwards became adepts in robbery and murder.

Early in the summer of 1782, Colonel McKee and Simon Girty were putting forth all their strength and influence to invade Kentucky with a large force, and strike an effectual blow. The combination of warriors consisted of Shawanoes, Cherokees, Wyandots, Miamies, Pottawatamies, and Ottawas, who were commanded by Simon Girty, and stimulated by the councils. McKee was in the expedition, but professed to act a subordinate part. They rallied at the old town of Chillicothe, about the 1st of August, and marched with such celerity and secrecy, that they were undiscovered until the night of the 14th of August, when Bryan's Station, about five miles from Lexington, was surrounded by nearly five hundred Indian warriors.

The fort was situated on the southern bank of the Elkhorn, and on the left of the present road to Maysville. It contained about forty cabins, placed in parallel lines, and connected by strong palisades. The garrison consisted of about fifty men. The enemy was discovered early in the morning, by some of the men in an adjacent cornfield, who reached the fort

in safety ; and expresses were sent off to Lexington and other stations for aid. Girty concealed his main force near the spring, which supplied the station with water, while a smaller party were directed to make a furious attack on the fort, in order to draw out the garrison in pursuit. In that case, the main party, with Girty at their head, would storm one of the gates, obtain possession, and kill or capture the whole garrison.

But in the fort were some of the most experienced persons in Indian artifice that Kentucky could furnish. The designs of the enemy were perceived. Veteran backwoodsmen were at no loss as to the feint of the enemy, and preparations were made to turn it to their own advantage. Thirteen fearless young men were selected, and sent out to attack and pursue the assailants, while the main body of the garrison placed themselves at the gates and bastions to meet the assault. The stratagem was successful. The small party of Indians retreated to the woods, followed by the corps of young men. Girty heard the firing, and supposing the main force to have left the fort, rushed with fury to the nearest gate with the main troop of warriors at his heels. Volley after volley of the Kentucky rifles soon convinced the leader, that he was the dupe of an

artifice, and, struck with consternation, the Indians fled precipitately. Again they rallied to the attack, and the siege was kept up by a regular fire from both parties, with but little execution, for several hours. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a reinforcement of fifty men on horseback and on foot from Lexington arrived to the relief of the garrison. The Indians, aware of their approach, lay in ambush near the road. The horsemen rushed through, amidst a shower of balls, and reached the fort without the loss of a man. Those on foot were not so fortunate. They first entered a cornfield, through which they ought to have passed to the fort, sheltered as they were from the fire of the enemy ; but, from some mistake, they turned into the road, fell into the ambuscade, and lost six of their number.

The chiefs, alarmed at this reinforcement, and expecting the arrival of other and more formidable parties, were in favor of an immediate retreat to their own country. But Girty, the most furious of all, having been foiled in his efforts to subdue the station by force, had the vanity to think he could succeed by negotiation. He had been wounded by a ball that day, which entered his shot-pouch, while engaged with the footmen from Lexington. He crawled to a stump near one of the bas-



tions, and demanded a parley. Commending their manly defence of the station, he urged that further resistance was impracticable, alluded to the number and fierceness of his followers, and affirmed that he had a reinforcement near, with several pieces of artillery, with which he threatened the garrison.

He forewarned them, that, if they did not then surrender, he could not restrain the savages from a general massacre, when the fort should be taken by violence, as it would be, but promised them life and safety now, with a solemn declaration "upon his honor," if they would submit as prisoners of war. He was heard patiently and without fear, and answered, not by the commander, who would not pay him the least respect, but by a courageous and facetious young man, by the name of Reynolds, in the most pungent and taunting style. Girty returned crestfallen to his camp, which was found deserted the next morning.\*

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\* To Girty's inquiry, "whether the garrison knew him," Reynolds replied, "that he was very well known; that he (the speaker) had a worthless dog, to which he had given the name of Simón Girty, in consequence of his striking resemblance to the man of that name; that if he had artillery or reinforcements, he might bring them up; but that if either he, or any of the naked rascals with him, found their way into the fort, they would disdain to use their guns against them, but would drive them out again

Girty, McKee, and the Indians, took the great buffalo trace towards Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, on a circuitous route to the Lower Blue Licks. Their camp fires were left burning; their trail was plainly marked; and every indication showed that they desired a pursuit, for they even marked the trees with their tomahawks along their path.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Troops raised to follow the Indians. — Colonel Boone, his Son, and Brother, of the Party. — Council of Officers and Boone's Advice. — Imprudence of Major McGary. — Disastrous Battle at the Blue Licks. — Campaign of General George Rogers Clark. — Female Heroism. — Preliminaries of Peace.*

INFORMATION of the attack on Bryan's Station having spread with great rapidity through the

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with whips, of which they had collected a large number for that purpose;" and, finally, he declared, "that they also expected reinforcements; that the whole country was marching to their assistance; and that, if Girty and his gang of murderers remained twenty-four hours longer before the fort, their scalps would be found drying in the sun upon the roofs of their cabins." McClung's *Sketches*, p. 77.

country, the militia were summoned to its defence. Early in the day after the retreat of the Indians, reinforcements began to come in, and before night one hundred and eighty-two men had repaired to Bryan's Station. Colonel Daniel Boone, with his son Israel and brother Samuel, headed a strong party from Boonesborough; Colonel Stephen Trigg brought up the forces from Harrodsburg; and Colonel John Todd came with the militia from Lexington. Majors Harlan, McGary, McBride, and Levi Todd were of the party.

Colonel Benjamin Logan, who resided at a greater distance, raised a large reinforcement within his command, but did not arrive in season. Colonel Todd, as senior officer, took the command. A council of officers was held under circumstances the reverse of cool, deliberate decision. A large majority were for instant pursuit. The more cautious, of whom Boone was one, deemed it advisable to wait for the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Logan and his force.

"Colonel Todd was heard to say, that Boone was a coward, and if they waited till Colonel Logan came up, he would gain all the laurels, but if they pressed forward, they would gain all the glory."\* The opinions of the

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\* Correspondence of Dr. L. D. Boone.

majority prevailed, and they proceeded on the trail. The more experienced of the party, and particularly Colonel Boone, soon became convinced that their enemies were employing means for a decoy. The trees were marked with their tomahawks, the ground much trampled, while their camp fires were few; showing a design to mask their numbers. Still no Indians were seen until they reached the bluffs of the Licking, opposite the Lower Blue Licks. A few were then discovered, marching over a ridge on the opposite side.

The country around was singularly wild and romantic. The licks, for ages, had been the resort of buffaloes and other wild animals, which had cropped the herbage from the surrounding hills. Near their base, the rains had swept away the soil, and left the rocks bare for a long distance. The river, by forming an abrupt curve on the north, or opposite side from the army, encircled a ridge for a mile or more in extent. Two ravines commenced near the top of this ridge, and, covered with timber and brushwood, passed on each side of the ridge in nearly opposite directions, down to the river, forming an admirable covert for the enemy. In these ravines the main body of the Indians, consisting of four or five hundred warriors, headed by Girty and McKee, were con-

cealed, unknown to the Kentucky troops. The buffalo and Indian trace, which they were following, and on which they saw the Indians, led across this ridge, so as to enclose the party as in a net, while they passed between the ravines.

Colonel Todd ordered a halt, for further consultation, before they passed the river, and especially solicited the views of Colonel Boone. The opinion of one distinguished for his prudence, circumspection, and perfect knowledge of Indian tactics, ought to have had weight. Boone was familiar with the country. He knew every ravine and place of ambuscade about the Licking. He had hunted amongst its romantic cliffs, made salt at the licks, and had been surprised by the wily Indians, and taken prisoner in 1778. His opinion was, that the Indian force of some four or five hundred warriors, taking the route they did, and marking their trail so distinctly, would lay an ambuscade, and he recommended waiting until Colonel Logan should arrive with his reinforcement; but, in the event of a determination to proceed, he advised a division of the troops into two parties, one of which should proceed above the bend of the river, cross so as to pass round the ravine, and be prepared to attack them in the rear; while the other party should

cross the ford at the licks, and follow the trail over the ridge. By this manœuvre, the Indians would be surprised in their concealment, attacked on both sides, and defeated. Should both of these suggestions be rejected, Colonel Boone then proposed, that, before they resumed their march, an effort should be made to ascertain the numbers and exact position of the enemy, by sending scouts to examine the surrounding country.

Before any judgment was pronounced by the council, on either of these propositions, all further deliberations were arrested by the imprudence of one of the officers, who had expressed dissatisfaction at the tardy movements of Boone and others who advised caution. Major McGary, in defiance of all due subordination, and with rashness wholly unbecoming a brave officer, raised the war whoop, and called out, "Those who are not cowards, follow me; I will show you where the Indians are;" and rushed with his horse into the river. In the impulse of the moment, about two thirds of the party followed McGary. The remainder lingered a few moments with Colonels Todd and Boone, who soon followed across the stream, and ordered a halt. Colonel Boone again proposed, that the army should remain in its present position until scouts could recon-

noitre the ground in front. This was acceded to, and two bold and experienced men were selected to proceed from the lick along the buffalo trace, half a mile beyond the ravines, where the path branched off in various directions. They were instructed to examine the country with the utmost care on each side of the trace, especially where it passed between the ravines, and, on discovery of the enemy, to return in haste to the army.

The scouts performed the hazardous and responsible service, passed over the ridge, proceeded to the place designated, and returned in safety. No Indians were seen; and yet more than four hundred warriors were lying in the ravines. The orders were given to march, and the appalling truth was soon known. The vigilance of the scouts had been eluded. The troops marched within forty yards of the ravines before a gun was fired, and then the Indians commenced the battle with great fury. Colonel Todd commanded the centre, Colonel Trigg the right, and Colonel Boone the left. Major Harlan advanced in front, Major McGary was in the centre, and Major Levi Todd brought up the rear. The overwhelming numbers and concealed position of the enemy gave them great advantage.

The first fire was peculiarly severe on the

right. Colonel Trigg fell, and with him a large number of the Harrodsburg troops. Colonel Boone sustained himself manfully on the left. Major Harlan's advanced guard maintained their ground until three men only remained. This gallant and highly respected officer fell covered with wounds. Colonel John Todd was soon mortally wounded, being shot through the body; and the last time he was seen, he was reeling on his horse, with the blood streaming from his wounds. The Indians now rushed upon them with their tomahawks and the most frightful yells, while others, still concealed, kept up a deadly fire. The troops gave way, and made a precipitate and disorderly retreat to the ford, some on horseback, others on foot, and the Indians in close pursuit. The fugitives hurried with tumultuous rapidity down the naked slope of the ridge to the ford at the lick. Here, on the rocky bank, and in the river, the execution was horrible. In this extremity, a single fortunate incident checked the savages, and gave an opportunity for many of the troops to escape.

A man by the name of Netherland, who on former occasions had been called a coward, displayed presence of mind and self-control that gave him the character of a hero. Be-



ing mounted on a spirited horse, he had outrun the fugitives, and, with twelve or fifteen other horsemen, had gained the opposite bank. His comrades were disposed to consult their own safety; but, casting his eyes around, and seeing the Indians rushing into the water to kill those who were struggling in the ford, he called with a loud voice, as though he was in command, to his panic-stricken companions, "Halt! Fire on the Indians, and protect the men in the river." The command was instantly obeyed, and a volley from a dozen rifles checked the savages, and gave opportunity for many to escape. This resistance was but momentary. Many of the Indians crossed the river by swimming above and below the ford. The Kentuckians, who escaped on foot, plunged into the thickets, and made their way to Bryan's Station, thirty-six miles distant, and the nearest place of shelter. But little loss was sustained after recrossing the river, although the pursuit continued for twenty miles.

From the head of the ravines to the river, for more than a mile, the loss was severe. During that part of the retreat, an instance of heroism and generous magnanimity was displayed, which every historian of this disastrous battle has recorded with credit to the parties. The reader will recollect young Rey-

nolds, who made the taunting reply to Girty at Bryan's Station. He had been in the thickest of the fight, and was making a successful retreat to the ford, and his situation was critical, when he overtook Captain Robert Patterson, exhausted, and lame from wounds received from the Indians on a former occasion. The Indians were but a few yards behind, and his fate seemed inevitable. Reynolds, on coming up with this brave and infirm officer, sprang from his horse, and aided Captain Patterson to mount, resolved to risk his own escape on foot. Being remarkably vigorous and active, he contrived to elude his pursuers, and swam the river below the ford; but he was overtaken by a party of Indians, and made prisoner. In the eagerness of pursuit, they became separated; till a single stout Indian, armed with a tomahawk and rifle, had him in charge. The Indian stooped down to tie his moccason, when Reynolds, who had watched for an opportunity, knocked him down, seized his gun, and effected his escape. For this generous act Captain Patterson presented him with two hundred acres of land.

Colonel Boone maintained his ground until the rout became general, when his whole attention was directed to preserve as many lives as possible. He knew the country in every

direction, and, with his son, who was mortally wounded, and whom he endeavored to bring off, he made his way to a place in the river below the curve and the ravine, where he could easily swim the current. Before he reached the bank, his son was in the agony of death, and he was obliged to leave his body to be mutilated by the tomahawk of the savages, that he might save his own life. Narrow indeed was his chance of escape on that ill-fated day. To him the incidents of the day must have been extremely distressing and vexatious. In the morning, he was engaged in persuading the commander and his brother officers to a course, which, if adopted, would have changed the fate of the day, and probably turned its disasters on the enemy. In the evening, he was exhausted with fatigue, mourning the untimely death of a beloved son, mortified by defeat, painfully ignorant of the extent of the loss, and making his way through the wilderness to Bryan's Station.\*

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\* The death of his son and the disasters of this day were never effaced from the mind of the old pioneer. Nearly forty years after the sad event, he could not rehearse the story without tears. While on the retreat with his son, a very large Indian sprang towards him with his uplifted tomahawk, and, when but a few feet distant, received the contents of the Colonel's gun in his body.

His brother Samuel was severely wounded, but made his escape.

Of one hundred and eighty-two persons who went out to the battle, about one third were killed, twelve wounded, and seven carried off prisoners, who were put to the torture after they reached the Indian towns. The loss of the Indians was not known, but was supposed to be equal in number ; and so the Indians afterwards represented it.\* The loss to Kentucky, in this battle, was greater and more afflicting than any before experienced in the colony. The melancholy intelligence spread through the country, and covered the land with mourning. A large proportion of the troops from Harrod's Station, with Colonel Trigg and Major Harlan, were left among the slain. Colonels Todd and Trigg were particularly deplored for their eminent social and private worth, intelligence, and urbanity. Of Major Harlan it has been justly said, "No officer was more brave and none more beloved in the field." With his friend McBride, he accompanied McGary across the river, and both fell in the early part of the conflict.

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\* Marshall's *Kentucky*, Vol. I. p. 141. Boone's *Narrative*, by Filson. The Indians, unless driven from the battle field by defeat, always carry off and bury or secrete their dead.

McGary, by whose imprudence the action was brought on, contrary to the advice of Boone, though in advance at first, escaped without the slightest injury to his person. Various statements concur in representing him to have been a man of fierce and daring courage, but of a fiery and ferocious temper, void of humane and gentle qualities, a quarrelsome and unpleasant man in civil life. It has been reported by those, who were well acquainted with him, that he frankly acknowledged he was the immediate cause of the disasters of the day, and said, in his justification, that, when at Bryan's Station, he urged delay in marching until Colonel Logan should come up with his reinforcement; but that Colonels Todd and Trigg were for immediate pursuit, alleging, that, if they waited for Colonel Logan, he would bear off the laurels of victory; and being nettled that his advice was not taken, when they parleyed at the lick about crossing, and talked about waiting, he was determined they should have a fight, or be disgraced.\*

True courage consists not in rash and brutal force, but in that command of the passions by which the judgment is enabled to act with

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\* Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 129. McClung's *Sketches*, p. 87.

promptitude and decision on any emergency. By such rash men as McGary, Colonel Boone was charged with want of courage, when the result proved his superior wisdom and foresight. All the testimony gives Boone credit for his sagacity and correctness in judgment before the action, and his coolness and self-possession in covering the retreat. His report of this battle to Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, is one of the few official documents that remain from his pen.

“Boone’s Station, Fayette County,

“August 30th, 1782.

“SIR,

“Present circumstances of affairs cause me to write to your Excellency as follows. On the 16th instant, a large number of Indians, with some white men, attacked one of our frontier stations, known by the name of Bryan’s Station. The siege continued from about sunrise till about ten o’clock the next day, when they marched off. Notice being given to the neighboring stations, we immediately raised one hundred and eighty-one horsemen, commanded by Colonel John Todd, including some of the Lincoln county militia, commanded by Colonel Trigg, and pursued about forty miles.

“On the 19th instant, we discovered the

enemy lying in wait for us. On this discovery, we formed our columns into one single line, and marched up in their front within about forty yards, before there was a gun fired. Colonel Trigg commanded on the right, myself on the left, Major McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan the advanced party in front. From the manner in which we had formed, it fell to my lot to bring on the attack. This was done with a very heavy fire on both sides, and extended back of the line to Colonel Trigg, where the enemy was so strong they rushed up and broke the right wing at the first fire. Thus the enemy got in our rear, with the loss of seventy-seven of our men, and twelve wounded. Afterwards we were reinforced by Colonel Logan, which made our force four hundred and sixty men. We marched again to the battle-ground; but, finding the enemy had gone, we proceeded to bury the dead.

“ We found forty-three on the ground, and many lay about, which we could not stay to find, hungry and weary as we were, and somewhat dubious that the enemy might not have gone off quite. By the sign, we thought that the Indians had exceeded four hundred; while the whole of this militia of the county does not amount to more than one hundred and thirty. From these facts your Excellency may form an idea of our situation.

“I know that your own circumstances are critical; but are we to be wholly forgotten? I hope not. I trust about five hundred men may be sent to our assistance immediately. If these shall be stationed as our county lieutenants shall deem necessary, it may be the means of saving our part of the country; but if they are placed under the direction of General Clark, they will be of little or no service to our settlement. The Falls lie one hundred miles west of us, and the Indians northeast; while our men are frequently called to protect them. I have encouraged the people in this county all that I could; but I can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thoughts of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case, it will break up these settlements. I hope, therefore, your Excellency will take the matter into your consideration, and send us some relief as quick as possible.

“These are my sentiments, without consulting any person. Colonel Logan will, I expect, immediately send you an express, by whom I humbly request your Excellency’s answer. In the meanwhile, I remain, &c.

“DANIEL BOONE.”



On the day that this rash and unfortunate battle was fought, Colonel Logan reached Bryan's Station with four hundred and fifty men. He learned that the little army of one hundred and eighty-two had marched the preceding day; and, fearful of some disaster, he had made a forced march, and set forward on their trail. Within a few miles from Bryan's Station he met the first party of fugitives. As usual with men after defeat, they magnified the number of the enemy, and the loss on their side; for no one then knew the extent of their loss, and each separate party supposed all the rest were slain. Colonel Logan now resolved to return to the fort he had just left, and wait until more of the survivors should come in. By night, both horse and foot had reassembled at the station, and the extent of their loss became known.

At a late hour that night, Colonel Logan, with his reinforcement, accompanied by Colonel Boone and a few of the survivors, started for the battle-ground. Stopping once to rest and refresh his men for two or three hours towards morning, he was enabled to reach the place of slaughter by noon the next day. The enemy were gone, but the sight was horrible. Dead and mutilated bodies were strowed through the scattering timber, submerged in the river

and spread over the rocky ridge. Immense flocks of vultures were perched on the trees, hovering in the air, or moving over the field among the slain, gorged with the horrid repast. The savages had mangled and scalped many ; the wolves had torn others ; and the oppressive heat of August had so disfigured their remains, that the persons of but few could be distinguished by their friends. They were interred as decently as the circumstances would admit, and Colonel Logan, believing that the Indians had made a rapid retreat to their own country, as is their custom after a successful engagement, retraced his course to Bryan's Station, where he dismissed his men.

The Indian army having been composed of parties from different tribes, and satisfied with the result of their expedition, the largest part recrossed the Ohio. A few scattering savages had the boldness to take a western route through Jefferson county, with the intention of increasing the number of scalps and prisoners. About the 1st of September, they killed several persons, and took a number of prisoners. Colonel Floyd ordered out a party of militia, and scoured the country about Salt River ; but they had departed.

As soon as the intelligence of the defeat at the Blue Licks reached the fort at Louisville

General George R. Clark made arrangements for a formidable expedition into the Indian country. Impressed with feelings of sympathy for the distress of the sufferers, and convinced of the necessity of active measures to arouse the country from despondency, he invited the principal officers of the militia to a council, and laid before them the plan of a campaign. Volunteers were first to be called for, and, should this method fail of furnishing the requisite number, then they would resort to a draft. The expedition being announced, and the conditions made known, the call was made for volunteers. The confidence of the officers in the patriotism of the people was not disappointed. Both officers and privates turned out, to the number of one thousand mounted riflemen; while pack-horses, beeves, and other supplies were sent by those who could not go themselves.

Bryan's Station was selected as the place of rendezvous for the upper country, and the Falls of Ohio for the lower settlements. Each division, under the immediate command of Colonels Floyd and Logan, met at the mouth of the Licking, opposite the present site of Cincinnati, ready for the campaign. Here General Clark took the command in person. Colonel Boone was along, of course; probably

as a volunteer, for no mention is made of any command. The expedition was conducted with that celerity for which General Clark, on former occasions, had obtained celebrity. The supplies of provisions, generously furnished by the inhabitants, could not be carried on the march, except what each soldier could carry for temporary subsistence. The woods abounded with game; but the secrecy and rapidity of their march did not allow them to send out hunting parties. Hence the troops suffered from hunger and fatigue.

They came within half a mile of the rear of Girty's party, returning from their expedition to Kentucky, and were discovered by two Indians, that gave the alarm of "a mighty army on its march." Their camp was immediately evacuated, the alarming intelligence was spread by runners through their towns, and dismay and flight were the result. Empty cabins and deserted fields were to be seen, and occasionally a scouting party, which fled on being discovered. On entering the town of Old Chillicothe, the houses gave signs of a recent abandonment. Fires were burning, and provisions were in process of being cooked. These were acceptable to the half-famished Kentuckians. Boone says, "The savages fled in the utmost disorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly

left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took possession of the town of Old Chillicothe without opposition, it being deserted by its inhabitants. In this expedition we took seven prisoners and five scalps, with the loss of only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by our own army."\*

The troops destroyed four other towns, two of which also were called Chillicothe, and Pickaway, and Willstown, all which they reduced to ashes. They cut up and destroyed the fields of corn, and desolated the whole country. Amongst the prisoners was an old chief, of much distinction in his tribe, who was clandestinely murdered by some of the party, much to the regret of General Clark and his officers.

This campaign, by the destruction of their towns and provisions, paralyzed the Indians more than the loss of a battle. It convinced them of the superiority of the whites, and so disheartened them that no more formidable invasions of Kentucky were attempted. Their confederacy was dissolved, and their army dispersed; yet small parties continued to make attacks on individual families in the exposed parts of the country.

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\* Narrative by Filson.

While the army of General Clark was spreading terror and desolation amongst the northern tribes, a small party of southern Indians made an incursion into the settlement called Crab Orchard, where an incident took place, which, for its novelty rather than its importance, and as an illustration of the energy and fortitude of the female sex in these times of exposure, captivity, and death, is here narrated.

A party of savages approached a single cabin, in which were the mother, children, and a negro man, from whom they expected no resistance. One of the number entered in advance of the rest, thinking doubtless to secure the whole as prisoners, or at least to obtain their scalps. He seized the negro man, expecting no resistance from the others. In the scuffle, both fell, when the children shut and bolted the door, and with an axe the mother cut off the Indian's head. The rest of the party, hearing the scuffle, rushed to the door, which they found barricaded against them, and they assailed it with their tomahawks. The mother seized an old rusty gun, without a lock, which lay in the corner, and put it through a crevice in the logs, which so alarmed them, that they left the place.

The defeat of the British army at Yorktown, Virginia, and the capture of Lord Corn-

wallis, prepared the way for the preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, and put a check upon their Indian allies; and for a time the country was not molested. The expedition under General Clark, above described, was the last in which Colonel Boone was engaged for the defence of the settlements of Kentucky.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Cessation of Indian Hostilities. — Colonel Boone on his Farm. — Incident with four Indians. — Retrospect of Society and the former Condition of the People. — The Kentuckians and Western People generally. — Social Feelings of Colonel Boone. — Frontier Hunters. — Their Modes of Hunting.*

IN the year 1783, a new era opened in Kentucky. The Indians of the northwest had felt severely the effects of the expedition of General Clark. The cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, and the expectation of the surrender of the northern military posts within the boundaries of the United States, filled the minds of the ignorant savages with apprehen-

sions of the consequences to themselves, if they continued their assaults upon Kentucky. Nothing could be more opportune to the feelings of the people, than the prospect of peace with the Indians. They were now intent upon the acquisition of lands, establishing farms, and providing themselves with the comforts of life.

The loss sustained by Colonel Boone in the means of purchasing lands has been mentioned already. Still, by the receipts due for military service rendered to the commonwealth of Virginia, and the avails of his own industry, he was enabled to pay for several locations of land, on one of which he constructed a comfortable log house and established a farm, intended for his future and permanent residence. He was never idle or thriftless, and his industry soon provided the necessities and many of the comforts of frontier life. For several succeeding years he cultivated his farm, and, during the season of game, followed his favorite amusement of hunting; and this, not as a mere amusement, but as a source of profit, and the means of subsistence.

In the mean time, the settlements were rapidly increasing in number and extent; the forest gave place to cultivated farms, towns and villages arose, and civilization made rapid ad-



vances in this wilderness. In the spring of 1783, an important change took place in the judiciary system, of the first importance to the administration of justice and the prosperity of the country. The three counties already formed in Kentucky, by a law of the legislature of Virginia, were erected into a district, and a new court of common law and chancery jurisdiction was established. This court was invested with the powers of *oyer* and *terminer* for criminal cases, and for hearing and determining land causes. Harrodsburg at first was the seat of justice; but, for want of accommodations, the court was removed to a meeting-house, six miles distant. The construction of a log house, at this site, large enough for a court-room and two jury-rooms, and another building for a prison, drew attention to the spot, and the town of Danville soon arose on the site. Here the court continued to hold its sessions until Kentucky became a state.

Though no hostile attacks from Indians disturbed the settlements, still there were small parties discovered, or *signs* seen in the frontier settlements. On one occasion, about this period, four Indians came to the farm of Colonel Boone, and nearly succeeded in taking him prisoner. The particulars are given, as they were

narrated by Boone himself, at the wedding of a granddaughter, a few months before his decease, and they furnish an illustration of his habitual self-possession and tact with Indians. At a short distance from his cabin, he had raised a small patch of tobacco, to supply his neighbors, (for Boone never used the "filthy weed" himself,) the amount, perhaps, of one hundred and fifty hills.

As a shelter for curing it, he had built an enclosure of rails, a dozen feet in height, and covered it with cane and grass. Stalks of tobacco are usually split and strung on sticks about four feet in length. The ends of these are laid on poles, placed across the tobacco-house, and in tiers, one above the other, to the roof. Boone had fixed his temporary shelter in such a manner as to have three tiers. He had covered the lower tier, and the tobacco had become dry, when he entered the shelter for the purpose of removing the sticks to the upper tier, preparatory to gathering the remainder of the crop. He had hoisted up the sticks from the lower to the second tier, and was standing on the poles that supported it while raising the sticks to the upper tier, when four stout Indians, with guns, entered the low door and called him by name. "Now, Boone, we got you. You no get away more. We carry

you off to Chillicothe this time. You no cheat us any more." Boone looked down upon their upturned faces, saw their loaded guns pointed at his breast, and recognizing some of his old friends, the Shawanoes, who had made him prisoner near the Blue Licks, in 1778, coolly and pleasantly responded, "Ah! old friends! Glad to see you." Perceiving that they manifested impatience to have him come down, he told them he was quite willing to go with them, and only begged they would wait where they were, and watch him closely, until he could finish removing his tobacco.

While parleying with them, inquiring after old acquaintances, and proposing to give them his tobacco when cured, he diverted their attention from his purpose, until he had collected together a number of sticks of dry tobacco, and so turned them as to fall between the poles directly in their faces. At the same instant, he jumped upon them with as much of the dry tobacco as he could gather in his arms, filling their mouths and eyes with its pungent dust, and, blinding and disabling them from following him, rushed out and hastened to his cabin, where he had the means of defence. Notwithstanding the narrow escape, he could not resist the temptation, after retreating some fifteen or twenty yards, to look

round and see the success of his achievement. The Indians, blinded and nearly suffocated, were stretching out their hands and feeling about in different directions, calling him by name, and cursing him for a rogue, and themselves for fools. The old man, in telling the story, imitated their gestures and tones of voice with great glee.

The formation of new settlements in Kentucky was no longer a military enterprise, but a mere act of civil life. Emigration poured in to augment the population. The arts connected with agriculture became established in the country. Money was more abundant, and labor of every description met its reward. Horses, cattle, and swine multiplied rapidly, and the fields were loaded with maize and other kinds of grain. Trade and barter sprang up among the citizens, amusements followed, schools were opened for teaching the elementary branches of education, and provision was made for a seminary of higher learning, which eventually grew into Transylvania University. Merchandise, which hitherto had been brought hundreds of miles on pack-horses, was transported from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt in wagons, and thence to the Falls of the Ohio in flat-bottomed boats; and small retail stores were established in the rising towns. Companies of

land speculators were organized in Philadelphia and other eastern cities, which poured their accumulations of paper currency on Virginia for land warrants, and had their agents in Kentucky for the purpose of selecting the lands.

In reference to the changes that rapidly took place in the manners, customs, and modes of living, as population and improvements in domestic economy advanced, it may be interesting to look to the state of things during the period of Indian hostilities. It is no reproach, or disparagement, to the first settlers of a new country to say, that they were inured to danger, to labor, and to rough living. Such have been the circumstances of every state in the Union, of every civilized country on the globe, in its early history. A large majority of the emigrants to Kentucky were from frontier settlements in Virginia, North Carolina, and other states, and, by early habits, were well fitted to be pioneers in the wilderness. Few others could have encountered the dangers and difficulties, or sustained the hardships, of planting the standard of civilization in the wilds of the west. The duties of the household were discharged by the females, who attended the dairy, performed the culinary operations, spun, wove, and made up the clothing for the whole

family, carried the water from the spring, and did much other laborious service, from which the sex in a more advanced condition of society is happily exempted. The building of forts and cabins, clearing of land, hunting game in the woods, defending the stations from Indian assaults, and planting, cultivating, and gathering the crops, were the appropriate business of the men; though the other sex not unfrequently furnished aid in the farmer's fields. During a siege, it was not unusual for females to mould and prepare bullets, and even load the rifles for their husbands, brothers, or fathers.

For clothing, deer-skins were extensively used for hunting-shirts, pantaloons, leggins, moccasins, and handkerchiefs; and the skin of the wolf, or fox, was frequently the covering for the head. Strips of buffalo-hide were used for ropes, and the dressed skins of the buffalo, bear, and elk furnished the principal covering for the beds at night. Wooden vessels, either dug out or coopered, were in common use for the table. A gourd formed the drinking cup. Every hunter carried his knife, while not unfrequently the rest of the family had one or two between them. If a family chanced to have a few pewter dishes and spoons, knives and forks, tin cups and platters, this was in advance of their neighbors. Corn

was beaten into meal in a hominy mortar, or ground in a hand-mill, of a construction similar to one in use amongst the Jews in ancient times.

*Cabin* is the name, throughout the west, for a plain, rough log house, constructed in the cheapest and simplest form. Nails and glass were unknown in buildings in the early settlements of Kentucky. Split slabs of timber, rough hewn, made the floor, and clapboards split from logs formed the covering of the roof. The table was constructed of the same materials. Stools and blocks supplied the place of chairs; and sticks inserted in the logs of the house, and supported by a corner post, or fork, constituted the bedstead. Other furniture and utensils were of like description. The food, in general, was of the most nutritious kind, and was had in great profusion. Milk, butter, and meat of various kinds, especially that of buffaloes, bears, and venison, was within the reach of every family. During the first few years, and under the pressure of Indian alarms, but little maize and other grain could be raised; but, when peace came, plenty smiled, and the phrase, "children crying for bread," used as a figure of speech in other countries, lost its meaning in the west. The meal of maize, prepared in many different forms, and the fin-

est of wheat, constituted the bread of every family.

The two prominent characteristics of the Kentuckians, formed in these early times, and still marking the population, and which, indeed, have spread over the new states of the western valley, are generous hospitality and social equality.

“Hospitality and kindness are among the virtues of the first settlers. Exposed to common dangers and toils, they become united by the closest ties of social intercourse. Accustomed to arm in each other’s defence, to aid in each other’s labor, to assist in the affectionate duty of nursing the sick, and the mournful office of burying the dead, the best affections of the heart are kept in constant exercise ; and there is, perhaps, no class of men in our country who obey the calls of friendship, or the claims of benevolence, with such cheerful promptness, or with so liberal a sacrifice of personal convenience.

“We read of marvellous stories of the ferocity of western men. The name of Kentuckian is continually associated with the idea of fighting, dirking, and gouging. The people of whom we are now writing, do not deserve this character. They live together in great harmony, with little contention, and less liti-



gation. The backwoodsmen are a generous and a placable race. They are bold and impetuous; and when differences do arise among them, they are more apt to give vent to their resentment at once, than to brood over their wrongs, or to seek legal redress. But this conduct is productive of harmony; for men are always more guarded in their deportment to each other, and more cautious of giving offence, when they know that the insult will be quickly felt, and instantly resented, than when the consequences of an offensive action are doubtful, and the retaliation distant. We have no evidence that the pioneers of Kentucky were quarrelsome or cruel; and an intimate acquaintance with the same race, at a later period, has led the writer to the conclusion, that they are a humane people; bold and daring when opposed to an enemy, but amiable in their intercourse with each other and with strangers, and habitually inclined to peace.”\*

The various tales told of the prejudices of Colonel Boone against civilization and social enjoyments are fictitious. He was not anti-social in his feelings and sympathies. He loved his fellow-creatures; he loved his children; he

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\* Hall's *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West*, Vol. II. p. 70.

sympathized with suffering and oppressed humanity ; he rejoiced in the prosperity of others, provided they were honest, industrious, and virtuous. The indolent and vicious he abhorred and despised. Yet, unquestionably, he delighted in rural frontier life. Hunting was a ruling passion. As soon as the frosts had killed the undergrowth, and the leaves of autumn had fallen, and the weather had become rainy, with an occasional light snow, Boone began to feel uneasy at home. The passion for hunting became excited. Every thing was unpleasant. The house was too warm, the bed too soft, and even the good wife not the most desirable companion. The chase occupied the thoughts of the hunter by day, and his dreams by night.

The late Reverend Joseph Doddridge has given an exact and graphic portraiture of the feelings of the backwoods hunter. "I have often seen them get up early in the morning at this season, walk hastily out, and look anxiously to the woods, and snuff the autumnal winds with the highest rapture ; then return into the house, and cast a quick and attentive look at the rifle, which was always suspended to a joist by a couple of buck's horns, or little forks. The hunting dog, understanding the intentions of his master, would wag his tail, and, by every blandishment in his power, express his readi-

ness to accompany him to the woods. A day was soon appointed for the march of the little cavalcade to the camping place. Two or three horses, furnished with pack-saddles, were loaded with flour, Indian meal, blankets, and every thing else requisite for the use of the hunter.”\*

Hunting is not merely a ramble through the woods in pursuit of game, in which there is no task imposed on the intellect. The experienced hunter, before he leaves his camp in the morning, learns, by habits of observation, to judge accurately, and almost with prescience, of the state of the weather for the day, the course and changes of the wind, and in what situation he may expect to find game, whether in the low grounds near watercourses, the close thicket, or open forest, on the slope of the hills, or on their summits. This is specially necessary in hunting deer; for their habits are affected by the weather. In cold, blustering storms, and high winds, they always seek the most sheltered thickets, the river bottoms, or the leeward sides of the hills. If it rains without much wind, and the temperature of the atmosphere is mild, they are found in the open woods and on the highest ground.

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\* Doddridge's *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, p. 124.

The habits of animals are various, and the successful hunter must be a practical zoölogist, well versed in the habits and instincts of the animal he seeks. In every situation, it is necessary for him to know the course of the wind, that he may be on the leeward side of his game, however slight, and, to inexperienced persons, insensible may be the motion of the air. All wild animals, but especially deer, scent the hunter, if he be on the windward side. The course of the wind, when it is calm, is ascertained by the hunter by putting his finger in his mouth until it becomes warm, and then holding it in the air above his head. The side that first feels the sensation of cold denotes the point from whence the wind comes.

It is also necessary for the hunter to know the cardinal points in a cloudy day, which he learns from the bark of trees and other signs. On an aged tree, the bark and moss are rougher and thicker on the north, than on the south side. The business of hunting must be managed by artifice. The hunter is continually watchful and active "to gain the wind" of the game he is pursuing. Not unfrequently some cunning old buck, by his superior tact and watchfulness, will elude the hunter's skill, and give his companions timely notice of danger. The sagacity of the animal and that of

the hunter are pitted against each other; and no small efforts are made by each party to gain the point, the one to save his life, and the other to take it.

The camp of the hunter is open in front, where the fire is kindled. The back part is frequently a large log, or fallen tree. The sides are constructed of poles, sustained by stakes or posts set upright, and the interstices filled up with leaves and moss. The covering, or roof, which slopes back, is made of the bark of trees, or split clapboards. Occasionally, the skins of animals are employed for this purpose. Leaves and grass, with one or two blankets, furnish lodging for the night. Sometimes several men occupy the camp in company; but in the daytime each one moves in a separate direction. Frequently two men are in partnership. Sometimes a hunter takes a boy with him to keep the camp. Some persons, as Boone often did, camp and hunt alone. The night is the only time for social enjoyment in a company of hunters, except when preparing their skins and peltry at the camp.

Old hunters seldom eat more than one regular meal during the twenty-four hours, and that after night, when the party have returned to camp, and kindled up the fire. The choicest bits of venison, or other meat, are selected, and

the slices placed on sharpened sticks and set perpendicularly before the fire, when eating and conversation usually continue for some hours. The adventures of the day furnish materials for social intercourse at night. The number and circumstances of the game, the "signs" discovered, the character of the country which has been traversed, the curiosities seen, the incidents of success or failure, are subjects of conversation. The Indians, though taciturn when in the company of white people, or when engaged in business, are loquacious at their hunting camps at night.


Trapping for beaver and other animals, that inhabit watercourses, has its peculiarities, and is managed differently from ordinary hunting. The trapper selects his watercourse, makes his camp, and hunts deer and other animals for provisions, of which he lays in a store for the season, that the noise of his gun and the smell of powder may not alarm the animals he purposes to decoy to his traps. Skill, experience, and sagacity are all necessary qualifications in the trapper. In decoying and deceiving animals, all his resources are called into requisition, amongst which is a particular knowledge of the habits and instincts of the animals of which he is in pursuit.

Buffalo hunting, on the prairies of the west,

differs from the method pursued by Boone and others in the forests of Kentucky. It is animating sport on horseback, and has been described by so many recent writers, as not to demand a place in this sketch.

Bee hunting has also its peculiar characteristics, and requires a correct knowledge of the habits of that useful insect. We have heard illiterate men, who had never read an author on the natural history of the honey-bee, give as accurate and particular an account of its peculiarities and habits, as the scientific naturalist could have done.

Hunting in new settlements, and where game is plenty, is a profitable employment. Many persons, who are now affluent and thrifty farmers, enjoying all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, obtained the means of purchasing their lands, and providing for their families, in former days, from the avails of the chase.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Troubles with the Indians renewed. — Litigation about Land Titles. — Colonel Boone loses his Land. — Removes from Kentucky to Kenhawa. — Resolves on a Removal to the "Far West." — Arrives in Upper Louisiana with his Family. — Receives Encouragement from the Spanish Authorities. — Appointed Commandant. — Colonial Government of Upper Louisiana. — Character of the Population.*

THAT part of Kentucky, which lies to the north of the Licking River, from its proximity to the Indian country, remained unsettled. Surveys had been suspended, and after several years resumed. Simon Kenton, who had begun a settlement here in 1775, again returned and pitched his cabin near the present site of Washington, a few miles from Limestone, as Maysville was then called. This enterprise prepared the way for other settlements. Apprehensions of an invasion from the Cherokee Indians on the southern borders of the district, in the autumn of 1784, induced Colonel Logan to call a public meeting at Danville, the seat of justice for the district. This assembly found that no legal authority existed in the district to



call out the militia in case of an invasion ; that there were no arms or ammunition, except such as were private property ; and that adequate and timely protection, by the government of Virginia, at the distance of several hundred miles, could not be afforded.

The result of this meeting of the people was a communication addressed to the militia companies, requesting each to elect one representative for a political convention. The measure was approved, and the representatives assembled at Danville, on the 28th of December. The deliberations of the body were conducted with decorum, and the proceedings were regulated by parliamentary rules. There was a general opinion favorable to the organization of an independent state. The question was referred to the people, and authority was given for electing members to another convention in the spring of 1785. This convention met, accordingly, and resolutions were adopted, proposing a petition to the legislature of Virginia, to grant the district of Kentucky the legal right to form a separate state government. Several conventions were subsequently held to promote this measure, and to look after the interests of the district.

In 1786, the legislature of Virginia enacted the preliminary provisions for the separation of

Kentucky as an independent state, provided Congress would receive it into the Union. The measure was not consummated until after the adoption of the constitution of the United States. In 1792, Kentucky came into the Federal Union as a sovereign state.

Previously to this event, Indian hostilities had been renewed in the northwest, and depredations were committed on the frontier settlements of Kentucky; families were murdered, and scalps taken. Nor was peace restored until the treaty of Greenville, after the subjugation of the Indians by General Wayne.

As courts of justice were established, litigation in regard to land titles increased, until it was carried to a distressing extent. We have already referred to the laws of Virginia for the sale of lands in Kentucky, and the defective forms of entry. A wide field of speculation was opened, and Colonel Boone, with hundreds of others, lost his lands from defective titles. His antipathy to the technical forms of law was great. He loved simple justice, was rigidly honest in all his engagements, and thought that all others, including the state, should act towards him on the same principles of natural equity. The law that prescribed the manner of entering lands was vague and defective, and its administration by the commissioners was

still more so. Boone, and many other deserving persons, who had made their locations, and in some instances valuable improvements, lost their property in suits at law. The old hunter employed counsel, attended the courts from term to term, and listened to the quibbles of the lawyers; but, on account of imperfect entries and legal flaws, he was ejected from the land he had defended so resolutely in the perilous times of savage invasion. After the vigor of life was spent, he found himself not the legal owner or possessor of a single acre of the vast and rich country he had so fully explored. His beautiful farm near Boonesborough, and several other tracts, were wrested from him by the forms of law. His recorded descriptions of location and boundary were defective, and shrewd speculators had the adroitness to secure legal titles by more accurate and better defined entries.

No wonder, that, till the close of his life, he entertained strong prejudices against all legal adjudications, which were not in accordance with the strictest rules of justice. He felt aggrieved at the treatment he had received by the operation of the land laws; and no one could convince him, that it was not by the cunning and contrivance of the lawyers and land speculators. With these impressions he

resolved to leave Kentucky, abjure all its interests and privileges, and seek a new home in the wilderness.

In a memorial to the legislature of Kentucky, in 1812, he says, "Unacquainted with the niceties of the law, the few lands I was enabled to locate were, through my ignorance, generally swallowed up by better claims."

Leaving Kentucky, he removed to the Kenhawa in Virginia, and settled on that river, not far from Point Pleasant. Here he resided for a time, cultivating a farm, raising stock, and, at the proper season, following his favorite employment of hunting. The note appended to the early part of this memoir mentions his visit, in 1790, to the place of his nativity in Pennsylvania. It is supposed that this was the period of his settlement on the Kenhawa.\*

It was during his residence there, in 1794, that he met with some persons, who had been on a hunting expedition to Upper Louisiana, and who gave a glowing description of the

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\* The following extract from the United States Gazette of the 27th of April 1793, shows that the Indians were troublesome in that quarter, though the report that "Colonel Boone was killed or taken," was of course an error. "The Indians have made incursions into Kenhawa county, taken two negroes belonging to William Morris, and Colonel Boone and another person were killed or taken."

fine country bordering on the Missouri River. His oldest son, then living, had migrated to that country.

The vast prairies, the herds of buffaloes, the bears, deer, and other game of that remote region, fired his imagination, aroused the feelings of the old hunter, and produced a resolution to remove thither. He also learned, that the manners and habits of the people were simple, their laws few and promptly administered, without the chicanery and technicalities of lawyers. Accordingly, in 1795, he gathered up such articles as were convenient to carry, and, with his trusty rifle, his family and chattels on pack-horses, driving his stock of cattle, he made his way to this land of promise. His fourth son, Jesse, was left in the Kenhawa Valley, where he had married; but he followed his father to the "far west" a few years later.

At that period, and for several years after, the country of his retreat belonged to the crown of Spain. His fame had reached this remote region before him, and he received of the Lieutenant-Governor, who resided at St. Louis, "assurance that ample portions of land should be given to him and his family." His first residence was in the Femme Osage settlement, in the District of St. Charles, about forty-five miles west of St. Louis. Here he

remained with his son Daniel M. Boone until 1804, when he removed to the residence of his youngest son, Nathan Boone, with whom he continued till about 1810, when he went to reside with his son-in-law, Flanders Callaway. A commission from Don Charles D. Delassus, Lieutenant-Governor, dated July 11th, 1800, appointing him commandant of the Femme Osage District, was tendered and accepted. He retained this command, which included both civil and military power; and he continued to discharge its duties with credit to himself, and to the satisfaction of all concerned, until the transfer of the government to the United States. The simple manners of the frontier people of Missouri exactly suited the peculiar habits and temper of Colonel Boone.

Louisiana was discovered, settled, and held in possession by the French until 1762, when, by a secret treaty, it was transferred to the crown of Spain. This treaty not being published, its stipulations were unknown to the governments of Europe, or the inhabitants of the country. Under both the French and Spanish governments, the settlers held their lands by allodial tenures. Titles derived immediately from the crown, and those sanctioned by the proper authority at New Orleans, were deemed *complete*. Those derived from the con-

cessions of the lieutenant-governors, or the commandants, were held *incomplete*, until sanctioned by the highest representative of the crown. In Upper Louisiana the proprietor was obliged to clear a portion of the land and build a house within a year and a day, or his claim was forfeited, and liable to revert to the domain.\*

The *Livre Terrien*, or land book, was provided under the administration of M. de St. Ange, in which grants of land were not only recorded, but originally written; and a copy of the entry in this book constituted the evidence of title in the hands of the grantee.

Spain, on taking possession of the country, which was not consummated until 1769, changed the French colonial jurisprudence in most particulars, but retained the principle of *allodium* in the grants of lands.

Ten thousand arpents† of choice lands were marked out and given to Colonel Boone, on the north side of the Missouri River, in consideration of his official services; but, being Syndic, the title could not be completed without application to the immediate representative of the crown at New Orleans. His actual res-

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\* Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 243.

† An arpent of land is 85-100ths of an English acre.

idence on the land, which the Spanish law required to complete the title, the Commandant at St. Louis promised to dispense with, in consequence of his official duties requiring his residence elsewhere. But he neglected to obtain the confirmation of his grant by application to New Orleans; and when the country passed into the possession of the United States, and commissioners were appointed to decide on unconfirmed claims, they were compelled by their instructions to reject the application of Colonel Boone, for the want of legal formalities.

The colonial officers of Upper Louisiana were invested with civil and military powers. By those, who were unacquainted with its character, the administration of the laws seemed arbitrary; but the Spanish colonial code contained a complete system of wise and unexceptionable rules, calculated to insure justice and promote the happiness of the people.\* It was founded on the principles of the Roman code.

A large majority of the population of the District of St. Charles were Americans, as emigrants from the United States were denominated. The French population, most of whom

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\* Stoddard's *Sketches*, p. 270.



were natives or Canadians, inhabited the villages of St. Charles and Portage de Sioux. On the surrender of the Illinois country to the British government, which was consummated in 1769, many of the French inhabitants left the country, and passed across the Mississippi into Upper Louisiana. St. Charles, called at that time *Petite Cote*, was founded in 1780. The leaders in all the French colonies on the Mississippi were gentlemen of education and talents; while the large majority were peaceable and illiterate *paysans*, who possessed little property and less enterprise. They were a contented race, unambitious, ignorant of the prolific resources of the country, and destitute of the least perception of its future destiny. They never troubled themselves with the affairs of government, never indulged in schemes of aggrandizement, nor showed the least inclination for political domination. They were a frank, open-hearted, unsuspecting, joyous people, careless of the acquisition of property.

“Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessities of life could be procured with little labor, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute nor personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace and comfortable poverty. They took possession

of so much of the vacant land around them as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude ; and even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the '*march of mind*,' or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers ; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury, which has not been practised among the English or American first settlers ; but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessities of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement." \*

The American settlers, in general, were of the class that had been the associates of Boone in North Carolina and Kentucky. Many had come from those states, drawn by his example and influence. Their character and habits have been described already. A small number had fled from their country to avoid the consequences of crime, or improvidence. But a very large majority were peaceable, industrious, moral, and well disposed persons, who, from va-

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\* Hall's *Sketches*, Vol. I. p. 180.

rious motives had crossed the "Great Water;" \* some from the love of adventure; some from that spirit of restlessness, which belongs to a class of frontier emigrants; but a much larger number with the expectation of obtaining large donations of land, which the government gave to each settler at the trifling expense of surveying and recording. A very general impression existed amongst the American emigrants, that in a short time the country would be annexed to the United States. Colonel Boone declared that he would never have settled in the country, had he not firmly believed it would become a portion of the American republic. †

Probably the efforts in Kentucky, for several years, to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi gave rise to this opinion. And yet these

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\* This is the aboriginal meaning of the name *Mississippi*.

† The writer has been intimately acquainted with many of these settlers, and knows their views, feelings, and objects in expatriating themselves for a period. No greater mistake is made than in supposing that the class of emigrants, who have advanced westward, and even beyond the boundaries of the American government and laws, are indolent and vicious. Some are of this description, as may be found in all communities; but the mass are virtuous, kind, hospitable, and ardently attached to the free institutions of the United States. From 1794 to 1803, emigration to Upper Louisiana, as Missouri was then called, was constant until several thousand persons had found their way to that remote region.

settlers in the Spanish country were quiet and peaceable, and made no movements towards revolution. They entertained the impression, that the Congress of the United States would obtain the country by negotiation. This impression existed several years before the purchase of Louisiana, and was doubtless known to Mr. Jefferson at the commencement of his administration.

It was the policy of the Spanish authorities in Upper Louisiana to encourage emigration from the United States. The distance of this province from New Orleans, the capital of the whole country, was a thousand miles; and intervening were a wilderness and a river difficult to navigate. Fears were entertained of an invasion of the country by the British and Indians from Canada. The American people were regarded as the natural adversaries of the British, and it was supposed that they would readily protect the country.

In 1780, an expedition was fitted out by the British commander, at Mackinac, to attack St. Louis, as a retaliation for the part the King of Spain had taken in favor of the independence of the United States. Fifteen hundred Indians, including a small party of British soldiers, made up the invading force, which came down the Mississippi. History records, that up-

wards of sixty of the inhabitants were killed, and about thirty taken prisoners. At this crisis, General George R. Clark, who was at Kaskaskia with several hundred men, including the Illinois militia, appeared on the opposite side of the river. The British took the alarm, raised the siege, and retired; and the Indians, declaring that they had no hostile intentions against the Spanish government, but had been deceived by the British, soon dispersed to their villages. This event caused the Spanish authorities, contrary to their usual policy, to encourage emigration from the American side. Advantageous prospects were held out, and pains taken to disseminate them through the western settlements. At the transfer of the government in 1804, more than three fifths of the population of the upper province were English-Americans.\*

The people and the circumstances of the country were congenial to the habits and temper of Boone, and he soon felt himself at home in this remote region.

Under the Spanish government, the Roman Catholic faith was the established religion of the province, and no other Christian sect was tolerated by the laws. Each emigrant was required to be *un bon Catholique*, as the French

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\* Stoddard's *Sketches*, p. 225.

expressed it ; yet, by the connivance of the commandants of Upper Louisiana, and by the use of a pious fiction in the examination of the Americans, toleration in fact existed. The manner of examining those who applied for the rights of settlement, was, to ask a few vague and general questions, which persons of almost any Christian sect could freely answer ; such as, “ Do you believe in Almighty God ? in the Holy Trinity ? in the true apostolic church ? in Jesus Christ our Savior ? in the holy Evangelists ? and the like. An affirmative answer being given to these and sundry other questions of a general nature, the declaration, “ *Un bon Catholique,*” would close the ceremony, and confirm the privilege of an adopted citizen.

Many Protestant families, communicants in Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other churches, settled in the province, and remained undisturbed in their religious principles. Protestant itinerant clergymen passed over from Illinois, and preached in the log cabins of the settlers unmolested, though they were occasionally threatened with imprisonment in the *calabozo* at St. Louis. Yet these threats were never executed.\*

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\* The late Reverend John Clark, a devoutly pious, but rather eccentric preacher, whose residence was in Illinois,

The Catholic priests in Upper Louisiana received their salaries from the Spanish crown, and not from tithes of the people. No tithes were ever levied or claimed in Louisiana, either under the French or Spanish governments; and the people were exempted from many other burdens imposed on other colonies. There were three curates and one vicar, with a few missionaries, who resided in Upper Louisiana, with salaries rating from three hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars a year. Burial and marriage fees, and other perquisites, added to their salaries, made a liberal support. Hence no burdens were imposed on the Protestant emigrants in support of the religion of the province.

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made monthly excursions to the Spanish territory, and preached in the houses of these religious emigrants. He was a man of great simplicity of character, and much respected and beloved by all who knew him, amongst whom was M. Trudeau, a French gentleman, and the Commandant of St. Louis. M. Trudeau would delay till he knew Mr. Clark's tour for that occasion was nearly finished, and then send a threatening message, that if Monsieur Clark did not leave the Spanish country in three days, he would put him in prison. This was repeated so often, as to furnish a pleasant joke with the preacher and his friends.

During these times, Mr. Abraham Musick, who was a Baptist, and well acquainted with the Commandant, and who likewise knew his religious principles, presented a petition for leave to hold meetings at his house, and for permission

As in most Catholic countries, the Sabbath was a day of hilarity and rejoicing. The Catholic population, being chiefly French, attended mass in the morning, with much regularity and devotion, and in the afternoon assembled in parties at private houses for social and merry intercourse. Cards, billiards, dances, and various sports, made up the pastime. The French population were not intemperate in eating or drinking on such occasions. The wealthier classes used, moderately, light red wines, especially claret; the poorer classes, in convivial parties, drank *tafia*, and a liquor called *noyau*, but very rarely to inebriation. The writer has often heard the old French settlers deplore the change of government, and the in-

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for Mr. Clark to preach there. The Commandant, inclined to favor the American settlers secretly, yet compelled to reject all such petitions officially, replied promptly that such a petition could not be granted. It was in violation of the laws of the country. "I mean," said the accommodating officer, "you must not put a bell on your house, and call it a *church*, nor suffer any person to christen your children but the parish priest. But if any of your friends choose to meet at your house, sing, pray, and talk about religion, you will not be molested, provided you continue, as I suppose you are, *un bon Catholique*." He well knew, that, as Baptists, they could dispense with the rite of infant baptism, and that plain, frontier people, as they were, could find the way to their meetings, without the sound of the "church-going bell."



flux of emigrants from the United States, by whom, as they alleged, the vices of intoxication and fraud were introduced. Theft and dishonesty were rarely known. Only two door-locks were regarded as necessary in St. Louis; one on the *calabozo*, and the other on the Government House.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Boone's official Duties.— Journey to Kentucky. — Difficulties with Indians. — Transfer of Louisiana to the United States. — Tenacity of the old Inhabitants to the Customs of their Ancestors. — Claim of Colonel Boone for Land. — Petition to Congress and to the Legislature of Kentucky. — Grant of one thousand Arpents. — Death of Mrs. Boone. — Hunting Excursions.*

THE office of syndic, or commandant, held by Colonel Boone, made but small demands on his time, and did not interfere with his customary employment of the winter months in hunting and trapping.\* For two or three

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\* The office of syndic, under the Spanish government, was somewhat analogous to that of a county justice in

seasons he was not successful. Besides the losses sustained by his friends in funds intrusted to his charge, which they generously relinquished, he left small debts unpaid in Kentucky. His creditors would have made no claims on him; yet he felt unhappy to be in debt and unable to pay, and he fondly hoped he should procure the means in his first winter's hunt. At length he made a successful excursion, and obtained a valuable supply of peltry, which he turned into cash, and then visited Kentucky. He had kept no book account, and knew not how much he owed, nor to whom he was indebted; but, in the honest simplicity of his nature, he went to all with whom he had had dealings, and paid whatever was demanded. When he returned to his family in Upper Louisiana, he had half a dollar left. To his family and a circle of friends, who had called to see him, he said, "Now I am ready and willing to die. I am relieved from a burden that has long oppressed me. I have paid all my debts, and no one will say, when I am gone, 'Boone was a dishonest man.' I am perfectly willing to die."

In his hunting excursions, he occasionally went alone; sometimes with a friend, neigh-

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some of the states, but more extensive, as it combined a portion of military with the civil power.

bor, or a relative; and more frequently with a negro boy, to keep his camp. On one expedition, the Osages attempted to rob him, but met with such prompt and determined resistance from Boone and his negro boy, that the party fled with precipitation. One winter he went on a trapping excursion up the Grand River, a stream that rises in the south part of Iowa, and, running a southerly course, enters the Missouri between Carroll and Ray counties. He was alone this season, and paddled his canoe up the Missouri, and then up the Grand River, until he found for his camp a retired place in a cove among the bluffs. He then proceeded to make the necessary preparations for trapping beaver. His camp was erected in so obscure a place, that even an experienced hunter could not have found it. The next step was to lay in a winter's supply of venison, turkeys, and bear's meat. The Indians of the northwest had manifested hostile demonstrations, and Boone was too well acquainted with Indian tactics to be surprised in his camp. He had commenced his trapping operations, and each morning visited his traps to secure his prey. One morning, he had the mortification to discover a large encampment of Indians in his vicinity, engaged in hunting.

A retreat to his camp was the first movement, where he secreted himself during the day. Fortunately, a deep snow fell that night, and securely covered his traps. He continued for twenty days in his camp, till the Indians departed. To prevent discovery, his method was to keep no fire in the daytime, lest the smoke should reveal his hiding place, and to kindle it and cook his food in the middle of the night. He stated to the writer, that he never felt so much anxiety in his life for so long a period, lest they should discover his traps and search out his camp. He was not discovered by the Indians; and when the snow melted away they departed.

On another occasion, he took pack-horses, and went to the country on the Osage River, taking for a camp-keeper a negro boy about twelve or fourteen years of age. Soon after preparing his camp and laying in his supplies for the winter, he was taken sick, and lay a long time in camp. The horses were *hobbled* out on the range. After a period of stormy weather, there came a pleasant and delightful day, and Boone felt able to walk out. With his staff, (for he was quite feeble,) he took the boy to the summit of a small eminence, and marked out the ground in shape and size of a grave, and then gave the following di-

rections. He instructed the boy, in case of his decease, to wash and lay his body straight, wrapped up in one of the cleanest blankets. He was then to construct a kind of shovel, and with that instrument and the hatchet to dig a grave, exactly as he had marked it out. He was then to drag the body to the place, and put it in the grave, which he was directed to cover up, placing posts at the head and foot. Poles were to be placed around and over the surface; the trees to be marked, so that it could be easily found by his friends; the horses were to be caught; the blankets and skins gathered up; with some special instructions about the old rifle, and various messages to the family. All these directions were given, as the boy afterwards declared, with entire calmness, and as if he was giving instructions about ordinary business. He soon recovered, broke up his camp, and returned homeward without the usual spoils of a winter's hunt.

He rarely hunted two successive seasons in the same range, and seldom went further west than the present boundary of Missouri.

The treaty of cession of Louisiana to the United States, conducted by Barbé Marbois, under the direction of Napoleon, then First Consul of France, and Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe on the part of the United

States, closed on the 30th of April, 1803. The Spanish authorities delivered the lower province to M. Laussat early in the same year, and by him it was duly and formally transferred to William C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson, commissioners of the United States, on the 20th of December of the same year. The change of authority in Upper Louisiana took place at St. Louis, on the 9th of March, 1804. The late Major Amos Stoddard, of the United States army, officiated on the occasion, and was constituted, for the time being, lieutenant-governor and commandant of the province. As a temporary arrangement, the Spanish laws continued in force for a short time, until Congress could introduce a system of government congenial to that of the United States. Soon afterwards, the laws, courts, customs, and whole system of American policy and jurisprudence spread over the country. The American population was prepared for this change. It was congenial to their habits and feelings, and they rejoiced in it as the consummation of their hopes and wishes. Not so the French, and the few Spaniards intermingled with them. In every particular, the change was an innovation on their former habits. The payment of taxes, going to the polls and voting for rulers and law-makers, proving

and recording titles to their lands, were burdens, which, though borne with patience and submission, were no less really such in their estimation.\* By degrees, however, the general character of the country, the features of society, and manners of the people were changed.

Life and vigor were diffused into the body politic, and that restless spirit of speculation and improvement, so common to the people of the United States, was introduced. The tide of emigration soon swept by the residence of Boone; and, as early as 1810, settlements were formed in what is now Central Missouri, called

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\* The tenacity with which the old inhabitants adhered to the habits of their ancestors is illustrated very forcibly in an incident, that occurred a few years ago at Carondal-et, a French village six miles south of St. Louis. A passenger landed from a steamboat that had run aground on a sand-bar opposite the village, and accosted a young citizen, who had his little horse-cart loaded with wood for the St. Louis market, soliciting a passage for himself and trunk to that place. The owner remarked that he could not take him, for his cart was loaded with wood. The stranger inquired the value of the load in St. Louis, and was told it was worth seventy-five cents. "Throw it off, then," said he, "and I will give you a dollar for transporting me to the city." The honest villager smoked his pipe over the proposition, and then, with the utmost civility, declined the offer; politely remarking, "My fader have always carry wood to market; I do de same ting. Bon jour, monsieur." Wetmore's *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 174.

Boone's Lick. Here the old hunter once pitched his winter's camp, and subsequently his son made salt at the lick, which still bears his name. His son Jesse, whom he had left in the Kenhawa country, followed with his family to Missouri. Daniel Morgan Boone, his eldest son then living, had gone to Upper Louisiana before his father, and Nathan, with his wife, followed about 1800. Flanders Callaway made several annual visits to the hunting grounds of Missouri, before he removed his family thither, which was about the period of the change of government. His other daughters had married and settled in Kentucky. His children in Missouri were settled within half a day's travel of his residence.

By his removal to Missouri, and becoming a citizen of the Spanish government, he was entitled to one thousand arpents of land, and, according to usage in other cases, by virtue of his official station, he was also entitled to ten thousand arpents.

By a declaration from M. Delassus, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, he was exempted from the customary terms of settlement and cultivation. The United States government instituted a commission to receive applications and adjudicate on the validity of titles. Colonel Boone brought his claims before the commis-



sioners on the 13th of February, 1806, and the Board decided on the 1st of December, 1809, "that this claim ought not to be confirmed." The decision had no respect to the equity of the case; the law under which the Board acted required, in express terms, "evidence of settlement and cultivation."

By the advice of his friends, in 1812, he sent a petition to Congress to obtain confirmation of his claim. The concession from Don Zenon Trudeau was dated January 24th, 1798, for one thousand arpents, and the certificate of survey and location was dated January 9th, 1800. The concession for the larger claim, which had been promised to him by the Spanish authority, could only be obtained from the highest representative of the crown at New Orleans, and this formality he had neglected. Thus Boone, who had explored, defended, and aided in settling the country from the Allegany Mountains to the frontier of Missouri, was left, at the age of fourscore years, without a rood of land, which he could call his own. He naturally turned his thoughts to Kentucky, a state that then contained nearly half a million of people, rich in resources, and whose voice had weight and influence in the national Congress. A memorial was presented to the General Assembly of that

state, on the 18th of January, 1812, soliciting the aid and influence of that body in obtaining from Congress the redress he sought.

This memorial contained a sketch of his labors in the wilderness, and "of his claims to the remembrance of his country in general." He spoke of his struggles "in the fatal fields, which were dyed with the blood of the early settlers, amongst whom were his two eldest sons, and others of his dearest connections." "The history of the settlement of the western country," he said, "was his history." He alluded to the love of discovery and adventure, which had induced him to expatriate himself, "under an assurance of the Governor at St. Louis, that ample portions of land should be given to him and to his family." He mentioned the allotment of land, his failure to consummate the title, and his unsuccessful application to the commissioners of the United States.\* Of the vast extent of country, which he had discovered and explored, "he was unable to call a single acre his own," and "he had laid his case before Congress." "Your memorialist," he added, "cannot but

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\* These commissioners were the late John B. C. Lucas, Clement Penrose, and Frederic Bates, each of whom exercised a rigid but faithful trust in behalf of the United States.

feel, so long as feeling remains, that he has a just claim upon his country for land to live on, and to transmit to his children after him. He cannot help, on an occasion like this, to look towards Kentucky. From a small acorn she has become a mighty oak, furnishing shelter to upwards of four hundred thousand souls. Very different is her appearance now from the time when your memorialist, with his little band, began to fell the forest, and construct the rude fortification at Boonesborough.”

The venerable pioneer found a cheerful response in the legislature of Kentucky. The memorial was referred to a committee of the Senate, who made a favorable report, which passed both branches of the legislature without a division. The application to Congress was successful, and one thousand arpents of land were confirmed to him, in the Femme Osage District, where he first settled. The act passed for the confirmation of the title on the 10th of February, 1814.\*

Boone was now far advanced in years; but his iron frame, after so many years of exposure and suffering, retained an unusual degree of elasticity; his mind was still vigorous, his

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\* See the proceedings of the legislature of Kentucky and of Congress, in the Appendix.

memory tenacious, and his temper as mild and placid as that of an infant. In March, 1813, he had the misfortune to lose his wife, at the age of seventy-six years. She had been the companion of his toils more than half a century, participating in the same generous and heroic nature as himself. A grave was prepared at a chosen spot, on the summit of a ridge, that, when the forest was cleared away, overlooked the turbid Missouri, selected by himself; and the place was marked where he was to be laid by her side. Soon after this event, he gave directions to a cabinet-maker in the settlement to prepare a coffin of black walnut for himself, which was done accordingly, and it was kept in his dwelling for several years. He fancied it was not of the exact size he required, and appropriated it to the funeral of a stranger, who died in the settlement. Another of cherry was prepared, and placed under his bed, where it continued until it received his mortal remains.

The closing part of his life was devoted to the society of his children, and to the employments of the chase. When age had enfeebled the energies of his once athletic frame, he would make an excursion twice a year to some remote hunting ground, employing a companion, whom he bound by a written contract

to take care of him, and, should he die in the wilderness, to bring his body to the cemetery, which he had selected as a final resting place.\*

In April, 1816, he went to Fort Osage, near the mouth of the Kansas River, where he spent two weeks, and then extended his tour to the Little Platte.

His time at home was usually occupied in some useful manner. He made powder-horns for his grandchildren, neighbors, and friends, many of which were carved and ornamented with much taste. He repaired rifles, and performed various descriptions of handicraft with neatness and finish. After the decease of Mrs. Boone, his home was with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Callaway, though he passed much of his time with his other children, particularly in the family of his youngest son, Major Nathan Boone. He evinced great attachment to his children and grandchildren, and before his decease he was surrounded by many of the fifth generation. On their part nothing was too good for grandfather Boone, as he was familiarly called.

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\* Governor Morehead's *Address*, p. 109. Niles's *Register*, Vol. IV. p. 33.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Visit of the Author to Boone. — Impressions formed. — Conversation. — His general Character. — Religious Sentiments. — His Portrait taken. — Illness and Recovery. — Visits his Son. — His Death. — Removal of his Remains to Kentucky, in 1845. — His Character, as described by Governor Morehead.*

It was in the month of December, 1818, that the author of this memoir, while performing the duty of an itinerant minister of the gospel in the frontier settlements of Missouri, saw for the first time this venerable pioneer. The preceding day had been spent in the settlement of Femme Osage, where Mr. Callaway, with whom Boone lived, met and accompanied the writer to Charrette village, a French hamlet, situated on the north side of the Missouri River, adjacent to which was his residence. On his introduction to Colonel Boone, the impressions were those of surprise, admiration, and delight. In boyhood, he had read of Daniel Boone, the pioneer of Kentucky, the celebrated hunter and Indian-fighter; and imagination had portrayed a rough, fierce-looking, uncouth specimen of humanity, and, of course,

at this period of life, a fretful and unattractive old man. But in every respect the reverse appeared. His high, bold forehead was slightly bald, and his silvered locks were combed smooth; his countenance was ruddy and fair, and exhibited the simplicity of a child. His voice was soft and melodious. A smile frequently played over his features in conversation. At repeated interviews, an irritable expression was never heard. His clothing was the coarse, plain manufacture of the family; but every thing about him denoted that kind of comfort, which was congenial to his habits and feelings, and evinced a happy old age. His room was part of a range of log cabins, kept in order by his affectionate daughter and granddaughters.

Every member of the household appeared to delight in administering to his comforts. He was sociable, communicative in replying to questions, but not in introducing incidents of his own history. He was intelligent, for he had treasured up the experience and observations of more than fourscore years. In these interviews, every incident of his life might have been drawn from his lips; but, veneration being the predominant feeling which his presence excited, no more than a few brief notes were taken. He spoke feelingly, and with so-

lemnity, of being a creature of Providence, ordained by Heaven as a pioneer in the wilderness, to advance the civilization and the extension of his country. He appeared to have entered into the wilderness with no comprehensive views or extensive plans of future improvement; he aimed not to lay the foundations of a state or nation; but still he professed the belief, that the Almighty had assigned to him a work to perform, and that he had only followed the pathway of duty in the course he had pursued. He gave no evidence of superstition, manifested no religious credulity, told of no remarkable dreams and strange impressions, as is common with superstitious and illiterate people, but only expressed an internal satisfaction, that he had discharged his duty to God and his country by following the direction of Providence.

The impression on the mind of the writer, before a personal acquaintance, that he was moody, unsocial, and desired to shun society and civilization, was wholly removed. He was the archetype of the better class of western pioneers; benevolent, kind-hearted, liberal, and a true philanthropist. That he was rigidly honest, and one of nature's noblemen, need not be here said. It is seen in his whole life. He abhorred a mean action, and delighted in hon-



esty and truth. While he acknowledged that he used guile with the Indians, he excused it as necessary to counteract their duplicity, but despised in them this trait of character. He never delighted in shedding human blood, even that of his enemies in war, and avoided it whenever he could.

He was not destitute of religious sentiments, though a large portion of his life was spent without the influence of the gospel ministry. His father was an Episcopalian, and taught his children the rudiments of faith and forms of worship used in that church; yet he retained no predilections for that communion. In a general sense, he was a believer in Christianity as a revelation from God in the sacred Scriptures, but never joined any church. His habits of mind were contemplative, and he revered the Deity in his works. His habits of roaming and encamping alone in the forest doubtless tended to unfold this trait of his character. He was strictly moral, temperate, and chaste.

During the summer of 1820, a patriotic solicitude prompted a distinguished American artist, Mr. Harding, to take his portrait, and for that purpose he made a visit to the residence of Mr. Callaway. Colonel Boone was feeble, and required to be supported by a friend, the

Reverend J. E. Welch, while sitting for the sketch.

Soon afterwards, he had an attack of fever, from which he recovered, so far as to make a visit to the house of his son, Major Nathan Boone; for all his children and grandchildren delighted to see him, and minister to his comfort, and he was happy in their society. From a little indiscretion in eating sweet potatoes, a vegetable which he was exceedingly fond of, and which his friends had prepared for him, he had an attack from which he never recovered. He gradually sank, and, after three days' illness, expired, on the 26th day of September, 1820, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

His remains were enclosed in the coffin he had provided, and were deposited by the side of his deceased wife. The funeral called forth a large circle of relatives, neighbors, and friends, from many miles distant; for he was beloved and respected by all who knew him.

The state of Missouri had been organized by the adoption of a constitution in the same year; and the first legislature was in session in St. Louis, when the intelligence of his decease reached that place. A resolution was passed, that the members should wear the usual badge of mourning twenty days, in respect to his memory, and adjourn for one day.

Colonel Boone had nine children, five sons and four daughters. The two eldest sons, James and Israel, were slain by the Indians, as mentioned in the proper place. His third son, Daniel Morgan Boone, who preceded him to Upper Louisiana, for many years lived on the bank of the Missouri, in the Femme Osage settlement. He was an industrious farmer, a respectable citizen, and attained to the rank of colonel in the militia. He sold his farm for ten thousand dollars, and removed to Jackson county, where he died about four years ago, past the age of fourscore. Jesse Boone, the fourth son, came to Upper Louisiana about 1806, settled on the Loutre, and died in St. Louis a few years after. Major Nathan Boone, the youngest child, married in Kentucky at an early age, and removed to Upper Louisiana in 1800. For many years he resided in the upper part of Femme Osage settlement. After the organization of the United States dragoons, he received the commission of captain in that department of the army, which post he still occupies. His family reside in Greene county, Missouri. He had attained to a majority in the militia many years before he entered the regular army. The names of Daniel Boone's daughters were Jemima, Susanna, Rebecca, and Lavinia. The last three married, lived, and died in Kentucky.

The Boone family have been noted for longevity. Of the brothers and sisters of Colonel Boone, we can only give the following particulars of their decease. George Boone died in Shelby county, Kentucky, in November, 1820, at the age of eighty-three; Samuel died at the age of eighty-eight; Jonathan at the age of eighty-six; Mrs. Wilcox, a sister, at the age of ninety-one; Mrs. Grant, another sister, at the age of eighty-four; Mrs. Smith, a third sister, at the age of eighty-four. Squire Boone, the father, died at the age of seventy-six.\*

When Colonel Boone made choice of a place of sepulture for himself and family, and was so particular as to enjoin his friends, if he died from home, to remove his remains to the hill near Charrette, he had no anticipation of an event, which occurred a quarter of a century after his burial. He little thought, that, before the coffins were mouldered away, his relics and those of his wife would find a resting place on the bank of the Kentucky River.

The citizens of Frankfort, having prepared a tasteful rural cemetery, projected, as an appropriate consecration of the ground, the removal of the remains of Colonel Boone and his wife. The consent of surviving relatives

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\* Niles's *Register*, Vol. XIX. p. 262.

having been obtained, a deputation visited Missouri in the summer of 1845, exhumed the relics, and transported them to Frankfort, where they were reinterred, with appropriate ceremonies, on the 20th of August. An oration was delivered by Mr. Crittenden.

Scarcely a county in Kentucky was without its representation, and many persons from the Western and Southwestern States were also in attendance, to pay the last funeral honors to these pioneers of the great western valley. Some of the contemporaries of the great hunter were present, and took part in the ceremonies.

In the procession, tottering along with extreme age, was the first black man that ever trod the soil of Kentucky. And his steps were sustained by another, also of African descent, who was the first child of other than Indian parentage ever born in that commonwealth, now containing more than a million of souls, and from which has gone out as many more to other states and territories of the great west.

We shall close this memoir with an extract from the Address of Governor Morehead, at Boonesborough, in 1840, on the commemoration of the first settlement of Kentucky. The preceding remarks will show, that, in a few slight

particulars, the author of this work differs in his estimate of Boone's character ; yet he is happy to corroborate the views, in general, of the distinguished author of the Address.

“The life of Daniel Boone is a forcible example of the powerful influence, which a single absorbing passion exerts over the destiny of an individual. Born with no endowments of intellect to distinguish him from the crowd of ordinary men, and possessing no other acquirements than a very common education bestowed, he was enabled nevertheless to maintain, throughout a long and useful career, a conspicuous rank among the most distinguished of his contemporaries ; and the testimonials of the public gratitude and respect, with which he was honored after his death, were such as were never awarded by an intelligent people to the undeserving.

“In his narrative, dictated to Filson in 1784, he described himself as ‘an instrument *ordained* to settle the wilderness.’ There are certain passages in his history corroborative of this conclusion. His preservation during a solitary sojournment of three months in the wilderness ; the marked forbearance and lenity of the savages toward him, especially on the last occasion of his being their prisoner ; his escape at a most important juncture for the de-

fence of his station ; would seem to indicate the interposition of a superior agency on his behalf. In 1778, when such formidable preparations were making at the old town of Chillicothe for the invasion of Kentucky, his seasonable return to Boonesborough saved the inhabitants from the grasp of savages ; and if Boonesborough had fallen, little doubt can be entertained, that every station on the frontier would have shared its fate. But it is needless to speculate upon a subject about which contradictory opinions may be formed. There are those who will coincide with the pioneer in the judgment, which he has passed on his own pretensions.

“His instrumentality in the settlement of the wilderness, great and efficacious as it most unquestionably was, may be traced to other and more proximate causes, having their origin in the elements of his own peculiar character. He came originally to the wilderness, not to settle and subdue it, but to gratify an inordinate passion for adventure and discovery ; to hunt the deer and buffalo ; to roam through the woods ; to admire the ‘beauties of nature ;’ in a word, to enjoy the lonely pastimes of a hunter’s life, remote from the society of his fellow-men. He had heard, with admiration and delight, Finley s description of the ‘coun-

try of Kentucky,' and high as were his expectations, he found it 'a second paradise.' Its lofty forests, its noble rivers, its picturesque scenery, its beautiful valleys, but, above all, the plentifulness of 'beasts of every American kind,' these were the attractions that brought him to it. He came, therefore, not to establish the foundations of a great state, nor to extend the empire of civilization, but because it *was* a wilderness; and *such* a wilderness as realized, in its adaptation to his inclination and habits, the bright visions of his fancy. Having, for reasons like these, chosen it for his abode, nothing was more natural than that he should be willing to risk much to defend it; and the peculiar warfare by which the settlements were to be preserved put in requisition precisely such powers of body and mind, as those that he possessed. He united, in an eminent degree, the qualities of shrewdness, caution, and courage, with uncommon muscular strength. He was seldom taken by surprise; he never shrunk from danger, nor cowered beneath the pressure of exposure and fatigue.

"In every emergency, he was a safe guide and a wise counsellor, because his movements were conducted with the utmost circumspection, and his judgment and penetration were proverbially accurate. Powerless to originate



plans on a large scale, no individual among the pioneers could execute, with more efficiency and success, the designs of others. He took the lead in no expedition against the savages; he disclosed no liberal views of policy for the protection of the stations;\* and yet it is not assuming too much to say, that without him, in all probability, the settlements could not have been upheld, and the conquest of Kentucky might have been reserved for the emigrants of the nineteenth century.

“With all his qualities as an antagonist of the red man, Boone was no lover of war. He took no delight in the glory of a conqueror. If he idolized his rifle, it was because it contributed to the enjoyment of his darling pastimes, not because it was an instrument for shedding human blood. His character, on the contrary, was pacific. But, at the same time, it was unsocial. He had few sympathies that bind men and families together, and consecrate the relations of society. During two whole years, he abandoned his family for no other purpose than to amuse himself in the wilderness. Yet he was not an unkind husband.

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\* General George Rogers Clark was the master spirit, as he was the senior officer, in the military enterprises of Kentucky against the Indians.

On one occasion, we know, he endangered his own to save the life of his son ; and I am not aware, that he was ever suspected of treachery in his friendships.

“At the period of his greatest vigor and usefulness, he was remarkable for his taciturnity ; but, as he grew older, he became an agreeable companion, remembering with distinctness remote events, especially those with which he was connected, and dwelling upon them with manifest satisfaction. His manners were simple and unobtrusive, exempt from the rude characteristic of the backwoodsman. In his person there was nothing peculiarly striking. He was five feet ten inches in height, and of robust and powerful proportions. His countenance was mild and contemplative ; indicating a frame of mind altogether different from the restlessness and activity that distinguished him. His ordinary habiliments were those of the hunter ; a hunting shirt and moccasins uniformly composing a part of them. Throughout his life he was careless of his pecuniary interests. The loss of his lands was chiefly attributable to inattention. When he emigrated to Louisiana, he omitted to secure a title to a princely estate on the Missouri, because it would have cost him the trouble of a trip to New Orleans.

“He would have travelled a much greater distance to indulge his cherished propensities as an adventurer and a hunter. He died, as he had lived, in a cabin;\* and perhaps his trusty rifle was the most valuable of his chattels.

“Such was the man to whom has been assigned the principal merit of the discovery of Kentucky, and who filled a large space in the eyes of America and Europe. Resting on the solid advantages of his services to his country, his fame will survive when the achievements of men greatly his superiors in rank and intellect will be forgotten.”

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\* The dwelling of his son, where he died, was a commodious edifice built of stone.

## A P P E N D I X.

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### *Proceedings of the Legislature of Kentucky, and of Congress, confirming Daniel Boone's Title to Lands in Missouri.*

THE committee of the legislature of Kentucky, to whom was referred Boone's petition, made the following Report.

“ The legislature of Kentucky, taking into view the many eminent services rendered by Colonel Boone in exploring and settling the western country, from which great advantages have resulted, not only to this state, but to his country in general; and that, from circumstances over which he had no control, he is now reduced to poverty, not having, so far as appears, an acre of land out of the vast territory he has been a great instrument in peopling; believing, also, that it is as unjust as it is impolitic, that useful enterprise and eminent services should go unrewarded by a government where merit confers the only distinction; and having sufficient reason to believe, that a grant of ten thousand acres of land, which he claims in Upper Louisiana, would have been confirmed by the Spanish government, had not said territory passed, by cession, into the hands of the general government; wherefore,

*“Resolved*, by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That our senators in Congress be requested to make use of their exertions to procure a grant of land in said territory, to said Boone, either the ten thousand acres to which he appears to have an equitable claim, from the grounds set forth to this legislature, by way of confirmation, or to such quantity, in such place, as shall be deemed most advisable by way of donation.”

The following Report was communicated from the committee on the public lands, in the House of Representatives in Congress, on the 24th of December, 1813.\*

“Mr. McKee, from the committee on the public lands, to whom was referred the petition of Daniel Boone, made the following Report.

“That the petitioner was invited by Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana under the Spanish government, to remove from Kentucky, who, as an inducement to his removal, promised the petitioner a grant of land in that country. The petitioner did remove to Louisiana before the year 1798; and, on the 24th of January, 1798, he received from Zenon Trudeau a concession of one thousand arpents of land, situated in the District of Femme Osage; had the same surveyed on the 9th of January, 1800. It further appears, that the petitioner was, on the 11th of June, 1800, appointed by Don Charles D. Delassus, then Lieutenant-Gov-

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\* American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. II. p. 736.

ernor of Upper Louisiana, Commandant of the Femme Osage District, and resided in the vicinity of the land granted to him for eight or nine years, but never settled or cultivated the same. It is alleged by the petitioner, that he failed to settle and cultivate the land granted to him in consequence of being informed by the said Delassus, that his appointment to the command of the Femme Osage District exempted him from the condition of settling and cultivating the land granted to him; a condition generally required by the Spanish laws from the citizens receiving grants of land in that country, under the Spanish government.

“By the act of Congress, of the 2d of March, 1805, authorizing the appointment of commissioners to settle and adjust the claims of persons to land in the district of Upper Louisiana, an actual settlement and cultivation of the land is required, to the confirmation of a claim; and, as the petitioner did not allege that any such settlement and cultivation had taken place, the commissioners rejected his claim. It is presumed the claim was rejected on this ground alone, inasmuch as the claim of the petitioner was good in every other respect. If, then, the appointment of the petitioner to the command of the Femme Osage District exempted him from the usual condition of settling and cultivating, his claim must be considered as a good, equitable claim against the government, but not embraced by the provisions of the act of Congress of 1805.

“The committee are not satisfied, that the appointment of the command of the district does, of

itself, exempt the petitioner from the condition of settling and cultivating; but it is known that the Spanish officers frequently received exemptions from this condition, as a matter of favor or right; and, as the petitioner was induced to omit this settlement and cultivation, by the suggestion of the said Delassus, *that it was unnecessary*, his claim ought not, on that account, to be rendered invalid. It also appears to the committee, that the petitioner is in his old age, and has in early life rendered to his country arduous and useful services; and ought not, therefore, to be deprived of this remaining resource, by a rigorous execution of a provision of our statute, designed to prevent frauds on the government.

“The committee, therefore, recommend the following resolution.

“*Resolved*, That Daniel Boone be confirmed in his title to one thousand arpents of land, in the Femme Osage District, granted to him by the Spanish government.”





L I F E

OF

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION;

BY

FRANCIS BOWEN.



## P R E F A C E .

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THE materials for the following memoir have been drawn almost exclusively from the letters and private papers of General Lincoln, which have been preserved in a state of great completeness, and which throw much light on some of the most interesting passages in the history of the American revolution. Diligent and methodical in his habits, and fond of writing, he kept up a wide correspondence, and preserved with care all the letters that were addressed to him, and copies of those which he wrote in reply. Besides his Orderly Books and Letter Books, there are the originals of all the letters that were received by him while in command of the southern army, down to the smallest scrap, his private journals during the sieges of Savannah and Charleston, and memoranda of the military plans and political negotiations, in which he was from time to time engaged.

Dr. Gordon appears to have had most of

these papers in his hands while preparing his "History of the Revolution;" and if he had made more diligent use of them, some of the errors with which his work is defaced might have been avoided. I do not find that they have been in possession of any other historian or biographer, who has taken much advantage of them to illustrate the times to which they relate. I have studied them carefully, and find nothing in them which does not strongly confirm the high opinion commonly entertained of Lincoln's excellent judgment, probity, patriotism, and zealous devotion to the great public interests to which his life was devoted.

A short memoir of General Lincoln, from the able and accomplished pen of President Kirkland, published in the thirteenth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has furnished me with some interesting particulars respecting the early part of his career, and the period during which he was collector of the port of Boston. The common histories, and other printed memorials of our revolutionary period, have been carefully consulted, and have enabled me to bring together the scattered incidents collected from his papers into a connected whole. I have endeavored to make only a clear narrative of

facts, and to leave speculation about causes and political principles to the philosophical historian. Lincoln's character was a plain and estimable one, and a simple sketch of his public services will do more honor to his memory than a labored eulogy.

CAMBRIDGE, *January 29th*, 1847.



# BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Preliminary Remarks. — Lincoln's Birth and Education. — Appointed to civil Offices. — Chosen to the Legislature. — Made Secretary of the Provincial Congress. — Serves on the Committee of Supplies. — Appointed to command in the Militia. — Ordered to march with the Militia, and join Washington. — Operations on York Island. — Attacks Fort Independence. — Crosses over to Jersey. — Commissioned as Major-General by Congress.*

THE contest, which established the independence of the United States of America, had many of the features of a civil war. It was waged between the disciplined troops of a powerful monarchy and the irregular and untrained levies, that were brought into the field by popular enthusiasm, resting on the strong conviction entertained by an aggrieved people of the

justice of their cause. A few of the officers and soldiers of the colonists had had some military experience in the French and Indian wars, but hardly any of them had made a profession of arms. They came from the plough and the workshop, from the pursuits of commerce and the engagements of professional life, to encounter the hazard, exposure, and suffering incident to a military career, the usual hardships of which were multiplied tenfold by the scantiness of their pay and equipments. It is a striking proof of the indomitable perseverance of the American character, when once fairly roused, that such troops continued in the field during more than seven tedious years, till, by the exhaustion rather than the defeat of their powerful antagonist, the prize of independence, for which they fought, was reluctantly granted.

To the ordinary discouragements of their situation was often added the loss and gloom produced by serious defeats; for the issue of pitched battles in the open field, between forces so unequally matched, could not be doubtful. In almost every case, where there was anything like an equality of numbers, the victory was decided by the superiority of arms and discipline. But it was a barren victory, never amounting to a conquest. The British troops



could hold no ground beyond that actually occupied by their patrols ; it was not safe for them even to be divided into several cantonments, at a distance from each other, during the intermission of arms usually caused by the severities of winter. They could act with safety only by a concentration of their strength ; and though they often marched in triumph through several contiguous states, either meeting with no opposition, or quickly trampling it down, yet the traces of their progress were almost as quickly effaced as those of a gale upon the ocean.

If the colonists had been entirely unanimous in the war, it is probable that the English ministers would have recognized, at an earlier day, the utter hopelessness of such a contest on their part. But the number and zeal of the American loyalists were always sufficient to delude them with the hope of finding at least some portions of the country, which, when once conquered, they might be able to hold, and where British rule might be quietly and permanently established in the wake of British victories. In New York and the Carolinas, the number of Americans who took sides with the mother country in the struggle was considerable, and the natural effect of such a division of opinion among the people was

seen in the exasperation of a partisan warfare, and sometimes in the cruelties which followed a successful engagement.

In New England, they were less numerous; but there also there were some adherents to the crown, whose feelings towards their countrymen were not much mollified by the confiscations, imprisonment, and exile, that they were compelled to endure. Some, also, were lukewarm in the cause; and others, to use an expressive phrase, were "waiters upon Providence," in order that the issue might point out the party to which they could most safely and profitably profess their allegiance. It became important, then, in selecting persons for the higher offices in the American army, to have regard not merely to their military talents and experience, but to their weight of character, and to the extent of their local reputation and influence, as their example might often discourage opposition, encourage the timid, and determine the wavering, and thus add the strength of a large neighborhood, if not of a whole colony, to the popular cause.

These remarks on the general character of our revolutionary war are naturally suggested by a review of the life and services of the individual, whose biography I have now undertaken to write. General Lincoln was not bred

a soldier, and it is not likely that he would ever have attained any great distinction in arms, even if he had received a military education. He had been taught only in the public schools of a small town in Massachusetts, and his sole occupation, till he was more than forty years of age, was that of a farmer. Very soon after he began his military career, circumstances led to his appointment to one of the highest stations in the Continental army, so that he had no opportunity to qualify himself for high command by long experience of the duties of a subaltern. He was made a major-general before the ordinary rules of regular service would have permitted him to obtain a captaincy, and before any remarkable achievement, any splendid feat, either of valor or military skill, had shown his fitness for early promotion. Whenever he had the command of a separate body of troops, he was almost uniformly unfortunate, and his capitulation at Charleston was probably the severest injury suffered by the American cause throughout the war. Of what materials must the army have been composed, which it was necessary to intrust to commanders of so little experience!

But it would be doing great injustice to the memory of General Lincoln to leave this sketch without presenting the other side of the pic-

ture. With all these disadvantages, he was one of the most popular, useful, and highly trusted officers in the American army. His good sense, firmness, and discretion, his indefatigable activity and perseverance, his devotion to the cause, and his command over the hearts and the confidence of his countrymen, were the solid qualities, which, in such a contest, were worth more than the most brilliant achievements in the field. If it be said, that these are the merits of a civilian more than of a military commander, the answer is, that they were the very qualities most needed for the conduct of the army in a war of so peculiar a character. By the recommendation of Washington, an admirable judge of character and qualifications, he first obtained his high appointment, and was supported in it throughout the war. How well he deserved the confidence and approbation of the Commander-in-chief, while he also merited the respect and gratitude of his countrymen, may be learned from the following view of his private life and public labors. The full importance of the latter could not be fairly appreciated without this preliminary consideration of their peculiar nature, and their adaptation, at the time, to the wants of the American service.

Colonel Benjamin Lincoln, as he was usually

called, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1700. His family had been established in that place, and had constantly resided there, ever since its first settlement. The name of his great grandfather, Thomas Lincoln, a cooper, appears in the town records as early as 1636; and the house lot occupied by him has remained to this day in the possession of his descendants. The father and grandfather of Colonel Lincoln, as well as his son and grandson, bore the same name as himself; so the same baptismal appellation and the same place of abode were continued to the family through five successive generations. He was a maltster and a farmer, had accumulated a moderate property, and always enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his townsmen, which they manifested by frequently electing him to public offices. For several years, he was the representative of the town in the General Court, and was a member of the Council of Massachusetts from 1753 to 1770, when he resigned, and died on the 1st of March, 1771. He left two sons, the younger of whom, Bela Lincoln, was born in March, 1734, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1754. He studied medicine, and, after practising for several years in his native town, visited Europe, and received a doctor's

degree in his profession from the University of Aberdeen. During the disputes with the mother country which preceded the revolution, he showed himself a zealous patriot, and was highly respected for his character and abilities. But he had a feeble constitution, which limited his sphere of usefulness, and he died on the 13th of July, 1773.

The elder son, BENJAMIN LINCOLN, was born at Hingham, on the 24th of January, 1733. In the common schools of that town he received the rudiments of an ordinary English education, such as was deemed sufficient to qualify him for following his father's employment as a farmer. But he must have made good use of these very inferior advantages, as his correspondence, from a very early period, shows entire correctness in the use of language, and considerable command of thought and expression. He had an active and inquiring mind, and after he attained the age of manhood, he was probably able to supply many of the deficiencies in his early instruction. Among the inhabitants of Hingham, at that time, were many persons of refined and cultivated tastes, and the reputation of their pastor, the Reverend Dr. Gay, for ability and learning stood deservedly high. In the society of such persons, and having more easy access to books than

was common for a farmer's son, he qualified himself for the important tasks that devolved upon him in his maturer years.

Soon after he came of age, he married, and lived in great domestic happiness with the wife of his youth for more than fifty-five years. He had several children, three of whom were sons. Two of these were educated at Harvard College, and the younger of them, Theodore Lincoln, is yet living, at a very advanced age, in Dennysville, Maine. Mr. Lincoln was an active and industrious farmer, and, though in easy circumstances, he diligently followed his calling till he was more than forty years old, being interrupted only from time to time by the several town offices to which he was appointed. He was a good specimen of the sober and substantial farmers of New England, a race of men generally remarkable for prudence, industry, and firmness, and capable of displaying much higher qualities when called out by sudden emergencies in public affairs. In 1757, he was chosen town clerk; and this office, for which he was particularly suited by character and a ready use of the pen, he continued to hold for many years. In 1762, he was made a justice of the peace for the county, and a year later he was commissioned to act as a justice throughout the province. This

would probably have been the end of his promotion, if the country had continued quiet and prosperous during the rest of his career.

But the troubles with England were now beginning, and the latent energies and steadfastness of the people were to be developed by much suffering and a protracted struggle with a power, which seemed too great to be hopelessly resisted. Men of intelligence and moral courage, who under different circumstances would have remained unknown in private life, now rapidly acquired distinction at the council board and in camp. Lincoln's patriotism was firm and ardent, while it was directed and supported by great clearness of intellect and sobriety of temperament. He was known and trusted as a man of sound principles and good discretion, and was therefore put forward on all occasions when his neighbors and townsmen wished to act in concert on public affairs. The spirit of opposition to the arbitrary acts of the English ministry was widely diffused throughout New England, and almost every country town, however small, had its public meetings and its committees appointed to watch and act with reference to the impending crisis.

Hingham was not behind other places in thus manifesting its attachment to the popular



cause. In 1768, when it became known that British troops were to be sent to Boston, and the Governor refused to assemble the General Court, the very bold measure was taken of calling together in Faneuil Hall a convention of delegates from the several towns, to exercise in some degree the functions of the rightful legislature. Hingham was represented in this assembly, and at a town meeting held for the purpose, Mr. Lincoln was placed on a committee to prepare instructions to its delegate, Deacon Joshua Hearsey. The purport of these instructions was, "to preserve peace and good order in the province, and loyalty to the King;" but a significant injunction was added, "that you encourage the inhabitants to keep up military duty, whereby they may be in a capacity to defend themselves against foreign enemies."

At another meeting, in March, 1770, the people of Hingham passed some very decided resolutions respecting the non-consumption of imported goods, and the occurrence which was then called the "Boston Massacre;" and these were transmitted by Mr. Lincoln in a letter to the committee of merchants in Boston. In 1772, and again in the following year, he was chosen to represent Hingham in the provincial legislature. In January, 1774, he appears

as the chairman of a committee appointed by the town to answer a letter that had been sent to them, with some papers, by the Boston committee of correspondence. The report made on this occasion, and the patriotic resolutions appended to it, were written by Mr. Lincoln, and, having been accepted by the town, were forwarded to Boston. Six months afterwards, he was made a member of a numerous committee which drafted an agreement or covenant, that was formally adopted by the people of Hingham, not to purchase or consume any British merchandise, but to "take the most prudent care for the raising and preserving sheep, flax, &c., for the manufacturing all such woollen and linen cloths as shall be most useful and necessary, and to give all possible support and encouragement to the manufactures of America in general." In this case, as in a multitude of others, we see how hearty a response was made, by the inhabitants of the smaller towns, to the vigorous measures of the leading patriots in the colonial legislatures.

As his abilities and determined patriotism became more widely known, offices of higher trust were tendered to him; and he soon took a high place among the directors of the popular movement. In September, 1774, he was made the representative of the town in the

General Court, which Governor Gage had ordered to convene at Salem in the following month; though he afterwards changed his mind, and issued a proclamation ordering the session to be indefinitely postponed. But the members came together at the time and place first indicated, and, having voted that the Governor had transcended his powers and violated the charter by his late proclamation, they proceeded forthwith to resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress, and made choice of John Hancock as president, and Benjamin Lincoln as secretary. They then adjourned to meet at Concord on the 11th, in which place and at Cambridge they held sessions at intervals till the 10th of December, when this Congress was dissolved.

Lincoln continued to act as secretary at its several meetings, and was subsequently appointed one of the five members of the Committee of Supplies, which, with the Committee of Safety, was to continue in session for the purpose of watching over the public welfare, and of preparing for resistance with arms, if this should be necessary. The original records of this Congress were lost or destroyed; but those of the committees have been preserved, though in an imperfect state; and they show that the member from Hingham was constant in at-

tendance, and took an active part in all the proceedings. The administrative talent and cool determination of this plain farmer became generally known, while his readiness in drafting papers and documents, and his active habits, caused much work to be imposed on him, which he always faithfully performed. From this time, indeed, he must have ceased to consider himself as a farmer, for his public duties had become so onerous and incessant as to engross most of his time.

He was elected to the second Provincial Congress, which met at Cambridge in February, 1775, and again served as its secretary throughout the session. This Congress was adjourned from the 15th of April to the 10th of May; but the members had hardly dispersed before they were called together again by the news of the battle of Lexington. On them alone, from their vicinity to the scene of action, rested the responsibility of all the measures then taken for collecting the first American army, providing for its sustenance and armament, and continuing the conflict with the former legal government of the province.

As secretary of this body, and as one of the Committee of Supplies, Lincoln had a full share in the performance of these important and hazardous duties. As the military stores

were found to be very insufficient, on his report and motion, made with closed doors on the 6th of May, the Congress authorized the Committee of Supplies "to import military stores from such place, and in such quantities, as they shall judge proper;" a pretty wide discretion to be given to five men, who were to act in entire secrecy. On the afternoon of the same day, he was chosen one of the two muster-masters, who were to examine every person, with arms and accoutrements complete, offering to enlist "in the Massachusetts army," and, if he passed muster, to pay him "twenty shillings lawful money." These measures, it must be remembered, were acts of flagrant rebellion against the established government of the land; for not till more than a year after this period did the Continental Congress, by its celebrated declaration, remove the name of *rebels*, till then technically just, from their own soldiers and officers. Most of the persons active in these proceedings were old enough to remember the fate of those, who rebelled in Scotland only thirty years before.

The third Provincial Congress assembled on the 31st of May, 1775, at Watertown, and continued in session till the 19th of the following July. Mr. Lincoln was a member of it, and during the last week of its session, in

the absence of James Warren, he acted as its president. This was the last legislative body in Massachusetts, which acted under the name of a Provincial Congress ; the old form of a "General Court" was now resumed, as far as it could be without a governor, and the legislature was organized according to the spirit, though not the letter, of the charter. This General Court, which had a Council, and thus acted in two separate branches, came together on the day when the Congress was dissolved. Lincoln was appointed to the Council, and therefore resigned the seat to which he had previously been elected in the other House. In his letter of resignation to his former constituents, dated July 29th, he says, "Although, Gentlemen, I am removed from the House of Representatives, and therefore am not considered as your particular representative in General Court, yet that will not remove from my mind the great obligations I am under, to the inhabitants of the town of Hingham. I recollect with gratitude, that they have conferred on me most, if not all, the places of honor that were in their power to bestow."

The battle of Bunker's Hill, besides that of Lexington, and this reëstablishment of the General Court without the aid or consent of a royal governor, tended rapidly to prepare the

minds of people in Massachusetts for a final separation from England. The opinion was now fast gaining ground, even in the smaller towns, that the breach between the two countries was irreparable, and that the Americans could not safely continue the struggle in which they were now engaged, without previously declaring their distinct national existence. We find that the little town of Hingham arrived at this conclusion much before the Continental Congress. On the 23d of May, 1776, six weeks before the famous 4th of July, Mr. Lincoln was placed at the head of a committee to prepare instructions for the representatives of the town in the General Court. The following is an extract from these instructions written by him, accepted by the town, and entered on its records, attested by his own signature as town clerk. "You are instructed and directed at all times to give your vote and interest in support of the present struggle with Great Britain. We ask nothing of her but peace, liberty, and safety. You will never recede from that claim, and, agreeably to a resolve of the late House of Representatives, *in case the honorable Continental Congress declare themselves independent of Great Britain, solemnly engage in behalf of your constituents, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, support them in the measure.*"

Lincoln's duties as muster-master, and as one of the Committee of Supplies, had been for some time of a semi-military character; and as soon as he perceived that the contest in future was to be carried on more by the sword than the pen, he appears to have sought employment in the army. He had long held command in the militia, having received his first commission for such office from Governor Shirley, in 1755. In 1771, he was appointed major of the third regiment of Suffolk, then commanded by Josiah Quincy; and a year afterwards, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the same. During the autumn of 1775, and the following winter, as the presence and operations of Washington's army had changed the whole vicinity of Boston into the appearance of a camp, his military ambition was probably excited, and he readily accepted promotion in the militia, but did not enter the regular army. In February, 1776, he was commissioned by the Council as brigadier-general, and in this capacity, no less than as a former member of the Council itself, and as one of the most active and influential patriots of Massachusetts, he became known to Washington, and acquired, in a remarkable degree, that great man's confidence and esteem, which were continued to him throughout life. The next May, after the



British had evacuated Boston, and most of the Continental army had been sent to New York, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and appears to have had the chief direction of military affairs in Massachusetts throughout the summer.

Several British armed ships remained in Nantasket Road after Howe's army had left Boston, for the purpose of warning off transports and other English vessels, that might arrive and enter the port in ignorance of the fact, that it was now held by the Americans. The Council of Massachusetts, wishing to drive off these ships, on the 11th of June ordered the troops to take possession of the heights of Hull, Long Island, Moon Island, and Hough's Neck, and to mount cannon upon them; and General Lincoln was authorized to call together as many of the militia for this purpose as he should find necessary. The order was executed, the proper works were thrown up on the night of the 13th, and a fire was opened upon the ships the next day, which soon drove them out of the harbor. A few Continental troops on Long Island aided in this affair. The consequence was, that a number of English vessels entered the port within a fortnight from this time and were captured.

The five Continental regiments, which had

been left at Boston when the main body of the American army marched to the south, remained only till July, when a portion of them were ordered to Ticonderoga, and the remainder to New York. Several regiments of militia were then called into active service, by order of the Council, for the protection of Boston harbor and the adjacent coast. On the 2d of August, General Lincoln was appointed to the command of these troops, and of all others on service at or near Boston, and his time, from this date, was given exclusively to his military duties. Measures were taken to fortify the harbor as completely as the means of Massachusetts would permit, and the works were carried forward with great rapidity.

While thus engaged, the news arrived of the disastrous battle of Long Island, and that Washington had been obliged to retreat. In compliance with the request of Congress and the Commander-in-chief, one fifth of the Massachusetts militia were drafted, and received orders, on the 12th of September, to march immediately to New York, under the command of General Lincoln. They were to continue in service till recalled by the state, and to receive the same pay as the Continental troops. Their departure was hurried, as the call for them was very urgent; and at the end of the

month, several of the regiments, with their commander, reached Fairfield, in Connecticut, which was near the scene of action. Here Lincoln received orders from Washington to halt his troops, and hold a conference with General Clinton, with a view to a projected expedition to Long Island, in order to bring off cattle, provisions, and forage, and to prevent the disaffected inhabitants from enlisting in the British service.

Colonel Livingston was at Fairfield with three companies of Continental troops, and he had orders to coöperate with them. He had been engaged in a previous attempt of this kind ; but after the defeat of the Americans near Brooklyn, British troops had been marched into the interior of the island, and he had been compelled to cross to the Connecticut shore. Thus left to themselves, whether from fear or inclination, most of the inhabitants submitted to British authority, and several companies were raised among them to join Howe's army. Nor was this defection confined to the island ; agents of the Tories had passed to the main land, and obtained many recruits in Dutchess and Westchester counties. The towns on the Connecticut side were also menaced with incursions.

Generals Lincoln and Clinton had a confer-

ence with Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, and made every preparation for crossing the Sound. But nearly all their troops were undisciplined militia, the British occupied the island in great force, and Washington's situation with the main army on Haerlem Heights was every day becoming more critical. Before the arrangements were completed, therefore, the Commander-in-chief thought it necessary to give up the attack on the island, and merely to keep a strong guard on the northern shore. Leaving two regiments at Fairfield for this purpose, under the command of Colonel McIntosh, Lincoln joined Washington's army on York Island with the remainder.

The situation of affairs for the American cause was now perilous in the extreme. Washington's troops were becoming dispirited, while a very strong force was in front of them, flushed with recent victory, in possession of the city of New York, and having entire command of the adjacent waters with a powerful fleet. At this moment, also, the whole American army was on the eve of dissolution. The period for which the troops were enlisted was to expire on the 1st of December; Congress had voted to raise a new army, but there was a great difference, as Washington told them, between voting battalions and filling them up

with men. Between the disbanding of the old army, and the mustering of a new one, there would be an interval in which it would be necessary to rely exclusively upon the militia. But the hope of obtaining even a temporary reinforcement of these undisciplined troops was very slender, as may be seen from the following extract from a letter, written by General Lincoln at this time to Major Hawley, of Northampton, an influential member of the Massachusetts legislature.

“What will be the consequence of a dissolution of the old army, which will soon take place, unless some very vigorous measures are adopted to supply its place until an army can be raised on the new establishment? The Connecticut militia are not engaged for any certain time; their numbers are constantly decreasing, and are now very much reduced. The militia from our state have had the faith of it plighted to them, that they should be discharged the 17th of November next; and the time for which the greatest part of the army engaged to serve will expire soon after. I see no great reason to suppose, that a sufficient number of men will be raised on the new plan by the time it will be necessary for them to be in the field. If this is so, should there be one minute’s delay in guarding against

the mischief, considering that, notwithstanding the great exertions used in Massachusetts in raising these last men, more than four weeks passed before they arrived in camp?"

On the 9th of October, in spite of the American batteries on the shore, and the obstructions in the river, three of the enemy's armed ships sailed up the Hudson, and anchored in the middle of Haverstraw Bay, out of reach of the guns on either shore. Thus the communication of the Americans by water with Albany was cut off, and a movement of the British troops, three days afterwards, seemed intended to hem them in by land also, on their eastern flank. They passed up the Sound in force, and established themselves at Frog's Neck, which is an island at high water, about nine miles to the east of Washington's position. On the 17th, they passed over from this place to Rodney's Neck, and marched up to Pell's Point, without opposition, except from a few of the militia belonging to Lincoln's command, with whom they had a slight skirmish, in which Colonel Shepherd of Massachusetts was severely wounded.

To avoid being outflanked by them in this direction, the American army was obliged to leave its strong position on Haerlem Heights, where it faced to the south, and to retreat

northward towards White Plains, occupying in their march a chain of hills which rises along the west side of the River Brunx, the British moving in the same direction on the other side of this stream. The Americans marched in four divisions, under the command respectively of Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln. On the 23d, Washington's head-quarters were at White Plains, while Lincoln was still at Valentine Hill, the extreme right of the American position, being only four miles from Kingsbridge.

Several skirmishes took place during the retreat, and on the 28th there was a partial engagement between the two armies at White Plains, in which the British were successful, and got possession of a hill which had formerly made part of the American encampment. This straitened Washington's position so much, that, three days afterward, he fell back, and took a strong station on the heights about two miles in the rear of the village. As he could not be attacked here to advantage, Howe suddenly broke up his encampment, and moved off towards Kingsbridge and the North River, so that the American General supposed he was going to make an irruption into the Jerseys.

Under this impression, Washington left Gen-

eral Lee with a considerable force on the eastern side, and prepared himself to cross the river with the Maryland and Virginia troops. The posts in the Highlands were left to the protection of General Heath, who had his headquarters at Peekskill. The Massachusetts troops made part of his division, and these were commanded by General Lincoln, who was thus removed for the remainder of this year from the scene of chief operations in the Jerseys. Heath was subsequently ordered, in case he should receive reinforcements from the eastward, to cross the river, and beat up the British detached posts in the upper parts of Jersey. "Whatever steps you may take in this affair," added Washington, "I would wish you to consult and coöperate with General Lincoln, of whose judgment and abilities I entertain a very high opinion."

Strenuous exertions were made, meanwhile, to supply the deficiencies in the American army by bringing up the militia from New England. Massachusetts sent two commissioners to unite with General Lincoln in an attempt to persuade a portion at least of the troops under his command to extend their period of service; but though a high bounty was offered, few could be induced to stay. This state also ordered out six thousand other mili-



tia, who were to rendezvous at Danbury, in Connecticut, where Lincoln was to meet and command them.

At the end of the year, the sudden return of Washington into the Jerseys, and the battles of Trenton and Princeton, created a panic in the enemy's army, and made them hastily withdraw from their scattered posts, and concentrate their forces at Brunswick and Amboy. Washington followed and took a strong position near them at Morristown. To divert their attention in part from himself, and to contract their quarters still further, he ordered Heath to move down towards Kingsbridge, and even, if opportunity offered, to attack New York itself from the north. As Lincoln had now returned to Peekskill with the greater part of the new levy of militia from the eastward, and was to accompany Heath in this expedition, Washington wrote to him on the 7th of January, 1777, to explain his intentions.

"I leave it entirely to the determination of you and General Heath, whether you shall continue on the east side of Hudson's River, or come on with the troops that are to join me. I have only to beg of you to be as expeditious as possible in moving forward, for the sooner a panic-struck enemy is followed, the better. If we can oblige them to evacu-

ate Jersey, we must drive them to the utmost distress ; for, as I mentioned above, they have depended upon the supplies from that state for their winter support."

Heath obeyed these orders, and, on the night of the 17th, moved forward his troops, consisting entirely of militia, towards Fort Independence, which was just above Kingsbridge, and was then the most advanced post which the British held towards the north. They marched in three divisions, General Lincoln's being on the right, and advancing along the river road from Tarrytown, while General Scott, in the centre, moved by way of White Plains, and Generals Wooster and Parsons came by East Chester and New Rochelle. They arrived just before sunrise on the 18th, and, taking the outposts by surprise, drove the British into the fort, and made a few prisoners.

This trifling success was magnified by rumor at a distance into a great victory ; and when the truth became known, it was turned into ridicule. This was increased by the rather lofty style in which Heath summoned the commander of the fort to surrender, ending with these words ; "Twenty minutes only can be allowed for the garrison to give their answer ; and should it be in the negative, they

must abide the consequences." The commander returned no answer whatever, and the Americans found themselves quite unable to make any impression on the fort. They had no artillery except light field-pieces, and it was deemed too hazardous to attempt a storm with only raw militia.

In order to surround the fort, the troops were scattered over a circle of eight miles; and the severity of the weather, as it was now midwinter, exposed them to great suffering. They constructed rude huts in the woods; but on the 24th, a violent rain drove most of Lincoln's division out of their imperfect shelter, and spoiled nearly all their ammunition. The next day, the garrison made a sally, in which they surprised and routed the guards, while a regiment, that was posted near at hand, took fright and ran off, leaving all their baggage. Other troops came up, however, and the enemy retired within their defences. After spending ten days round the fort without effecting any thing, a violent snow-storm came on, and a council of officers determined that it was necessary to retreat, in order to put the soldiers under cover. The expedition thus proved a total failure, as it did not effect its chief object, which was to alarm the enemy in New

York, and cause them to withdraw a portion of their troops from Brunswic and Amboy.

This affair exposed General Heath to much censure and ridicule, which he certainly merited by first sending such a farcical summons, and then doing so little in order to make good his threats. But, in other respects, the expedition was well enough conducted. If the American force had consisted of disciplined troops, they might have taken the post by a bold push at the outset, before the enemy had recovered from his surprise at an attack from this quarter; but with untrained militia, such an attempt would have been rash and foolish.

General Lincoln soon exercised the liberty which Washington had given him to cross the Hudson, and join the American camp at Morristown. He left Peekskill, with one of the Massachusetts regiments, on the 10th of February, leaving orders for three other regiments to follow him. Washington had already recommended him in strong terms to Congress, as a proper officer to be transferred from the militia to the Continental service. The following is an extract from one of his letters to that body, written on the 20th of December. "In speaking of General Lincoln, I should not do him justice were I not to add, that he is

a gentleman well worthy of notice in the military line. He commanded the militia from Massachusetts last summer, or fall rather, and much to my satisfaction, having proved himself, on all occasions, an active, spirited, sensible man. I do not know whether it is his wish to remain in the military line, or whether, if he should, any thing under the rank he now holds in the state he comes from would satisfy him." A month afterwards, this suggestion was repeated, and with more urgency, as the army was then in great want of general officers. Congress complied with this request, on the 19th of February, 1777, by appointing Lincoln a major-general in the Continental service, at the same time with four others; namely, Stirling, Mifflin, St. Clair, and Stephen. Two days afterwards, ten brigadiers were chosen.

## CHAPTER II.

*Lincoln surprised at Boundbrook. — Ordered to join the Northern Army. — His Operations in Vermont. — Sends Colonel Brown against the British at Lake George. — Joins the Army of Gates. — Battle of Bemus's Heights. — Wounded in the Leg. — His Dispute respecting Rank with Arnold. — Presented with Epaulettes and Sword-knot by Washington. — Rejoins the Army. — Ordered to take the Command at the South.*

AFTER his appointment to the regular army, General Lincoln was stationed, with a small force, not exceeding five hundred effective men, at Boundbrook, on the Rariton River, the most advanced post of the Americans, as New Brunswick, which was occupied by a large body of the British, was distant but a few miles in front. Morristown, where the main body of Washington's army was in winter quarters, was at a much greater distance in his rear. The position was one of great risk; for, having to guard an extent of five or six miles, he was much exposed to be taken by surprise. Great precautions were therefore used; but, in spite of his vigilance, the enemy succeeded at

last, on the 13th of April, in taking him unawares. The assailing party, consisting of about two thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis and General Grant, made a night march from Brunswick, and arrived about daybreak at Boundbrook.

By the neglect of the patroles, who alleged in excuse that they mistook the troops for Americans, about half of this force succeeded in passing the Rariton at the fording place near the entrance of Millstone Creek, where they were within two hundred yards of Lincoln's own quarters. He had just time to mount and ride off, with one of his aids, before the house was surrounded. The other aid, with the General's papers and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy; and the artillery, consisting of three small pieces, was also captured. Lincoln went first to the front of his position, where he found that the remainder of the enemy had passed round to the rear of his left, their design being evidently to encircle his party, and prevent them from escaping to the mountains behind. He had just time to fall back with his troops before the two columns closed, effecting his passage through them with the loss of about sixty killed, wounded, or taken. The British remained but an hour or two, destroyed a few stores, and

then returned to Brunswic, having lost only three killed and four wounded. Lincoln resumed his post on the same day, with a reinforcement.

Washington's army left Morristown about the end of May, and took a strong position at Middlebrook, just in the rear of the place where Lincoln had been stationed. The British now occupied Brunswic in full force, but dared not attack the Americans in their camp, where they had so much the advantage of the ground. The two armies remained watching each other for some time, Washington having determined not to quit his secure position till the enemy's intentions were developed, while Howe was desirous of drawing him down to the plains, where a battle could be fought on equal terms.

During a series of manœuvres, in which Howe's attempts to outgeneral his opponent failed entirely, there were several skirmishes between the light troops of the two armies; but they had no important result. Lincoln commanded a division of the main body, and seems to have maintained his high reputation for activity and intelligence. The intentions of the enemy remained dubious; it was impossible to tell whether Howe meant to advance up the Hudson River, so as to unite



with Burgoyne, or to pass round by water to the mouth of the Delaware, and attack Philadelphia. This uncertainty continued through the whole month of July, and made Washington's position a delicate and embarrassing one.

In the course of this month, also, the most alarming news were received from the north. Ticonderoga and Fort George had been evacuated, St. Clair had suffered greatly in his retreat, and Burgoyne was advancing with rapid strides towards Albany. Only Schuyler was in his way, at Fort Edward; but he had only seven hundred Continentals, and fourteen hundred militia, and was almost destitute of ammunition. As he had written that he was in great want of active general officers, Washington sent General Arnold to him on the 18th of July, and a week afterwards he resolved to send Lincoln also. The reasons for making this choice are explained in the following extract of a letter from Washington to Schuyler, dated July 24th.

“I have directed General Lincoln to repair to you as speedily as the state of his health, which is not very perfect, will permit him. This gentleman has always supported the character of a judicious, brave, active officer; and as he is exceedingly popular and much respected in the state of Massachusetts, to which he

belongs, he will have a degree of influence over the militia, which cannot fail of being very advantageous. I have destined him more particularly to the command of them, and I promise myself it will have a powerful tendency to make them turn out with more cheerfulness, and to inspire them with perseverance to remain in the field, and fortitude and spirit to do their duty while in it. The confidence they have in him will certainly go a great way towards producing these desirable ends."

Lincoln left the camp as soon as he had received his orders, and travelled with so much expedition, that he joined the northern army at Fort Miller on the 29th of July. By the advice of a council of officers, General Schuyler had just determined to fall back as far as Saratoga, thinking that this would be a more tenable position, and more convenient for disciplining his troops. While executing this retreat, Lincoln was detached, according to Washington's suggestion, to Manchester, in Vermont, about half way between Bennington and Skenesborough, to take command of the militia there, to receive others who were daily coming in from New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and to act as circumstances might dictate on the left flank and rear of Burgoyne.

He arrived on the 2d of August, and found a force of about five hundred militia, which was increased the next day by three hundred more. Colonel Cushing also came, with the intelligence that seven hundred men were on their way thither from Massachusetts. Lincoln wrote, on the 4th, that he expected to have at least two thousand in a few days.

The establishment of such a force in this vicinity was very necessary in order to encourage the inhabitants, and prevent them from deserting their farms, and abandoning all to the enemy. The Indians and Tories, whom Burgoyne had with him, did much to spread and increase this alarm. Lincoln wrote to Washington, "The minds of the people are greatly agitated in this part of the country. They are removing their families in great confusion, are leaving very plentiful crops on the ground, and are seeking an asylum in the lower towns. Our moving forward, which I expect will be in two or three days, will give them, I hope, new spirits, and cause many of them to return."

To correspond with the authorities of the three neighboring states, to introduce order and discipline among these hastily levied troops, to obtain supplies, especially of ammunition, which was very scarce, and to keep a sharp look out

upon the enemy's motions in his neighborhood, were employments that taxed the attention and activity of Lincoln to the utmost. The letters, that passed between him and the Governors or Councils of the states, are very honorable to all parties, showing mutual confidence and a disposition to coöperate zealously for the public good. He had excellent administrative talents, great discretion and judgment, besides remarkable watchfulness and promptitude in action; and his situation now afforded full scope for the exercise of these qualities. To the care and method with which he performed his duties in preparing these raw militia for service, and providing for their subsistence, Gates was much indebted for his final success.

The tide of Burgoyne's good fortune turned very soon after Lincoln's arrival at the north, and his reverses were destined to be as signal and rapid as his triumphs were in the earlier part of the campaign. Fearing that he would make a sudden dash upon Albany, and crush the American force, still small, which was in front of him, General Schuyler wrote to Lincoln, in pressing terms, to bring the militia to Stillwater, and form a junction with the main body, which there opposed Burgoyne's progress. But before this request could be complied with,

General Gates arrived in camp, and assumed the command; and, with his consent, Lincoln retained his original position.

Besides his own force, General Stark was at Bennington with eight hundred New Hampshire militia, whom he preferred to keep there under his separate command, instead of marching them to Stillwater or Manchester. Lincoln humored him, and sent Colonel Warner's regiment to his aid, after the news arrived that Baume was on his way, with five hundred German troops, to destroy the stores at Bennington.

The capture of this force by Stark on the 16th of August, and the defeat of Breyman's detachment by him on the same day, was the first serious blow that any part of Burgoyne's army received in the field; and the way was certainly paved for this important success of the American arms by the previous labors and prudent arrangements of Lincoln. The British army was so much crippled and discouraged by this capital stroke, that Gates very willingly allowed Lincoln to continue and extend his operations with the militia on their flank and rear. Burgoyne found the truth of the old saying, that misfortunes never come single; for he had not recovered from the stunning news of this defeat on his left, be-

fore he heard that his right wing, under St. Leger, had suffered a disaster of almost equal magnitude.

This officer, with a mingled force of British, Indians, and Tories, had advanced through the wilderness to lay siege to Fort Schuyler. General Arnold was sent with Learned's brigade to raise the siege; and he contrived to convey by stratagem to the Indians, who were with St. Leger, a most exaggerated report of his strength, and of the fate which awaited them if they dared to abide his coming. The fickle savages, already disheartened by the slow progress of the siege, were completely frightened by this story; and they went off in a body, leaving their white allies to contend alone. Thus deprived of more than half his force, St. Leger was compelled hastily to abandon the enterprise, and, leaving most of his artillery and stores behind, to fly with the greatest precipitation towards the lake.

Burgoyne's situation was now very hazardous, for, both wings being clipped, he had no hold upon the surrounding country for provisions, and had only a narrow and difficult line of communication by the rear with his supplies at Lake George. This line was menaced by Lincoln with the militia in Vermont, and the American army in his front was daily

receiving accessions of fresh troops. Prudence required, therefore, that he should give up all thoughts of penetrating to Albany, and should fall back at once upon the strong posts held by the British on the lakes to the north. But he was of a gallant and enterprising disposition, had been much elated with his brilliant success at the outset, and had resolved to risk every thing in the attempt to comply with the positive orders that he had received, which were to push forward and form a junction with the royal army, that was expected to advance up the Hudson River from New York. He remained inactive in his camp nearly a month, till supplies for thirty days could be forwarded to him from Lake George. Having received these before the middle of September, he broke up his camp, abandoned the lower posts, which he had held on the east side of the Hudson, crossed the river, and took post at Saratoga, the main army of the Americans having meanwhile advanced from Van Schaick's Island to Stillwater.

Lincoln meanwhile had advanced northward to Pawlet, a town adjoining Skenesborough, with the design of attacking the British posts on Lake George. A few of the enemy, who were at Skenesborough, left it on his approach, after burning a number of boats. On the 12th,

Lincoln ordered Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, to march to the landing at the north end of Lake George, destroy the British stores there, and release some American prisoners. Colonel Johnson was sent with another detachment of five hundred to make an attempt on Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and General Warner soon followed with another body of troops to his support. Still another body of militia, under Colonel Woodbridge, was pushed forward to Skenesborough and Fort Anne, thus breaking Burgoyne's only line of communication at three several points. These measures were taken without consultation with Gates, and even without informing him, in order that the enemy might not have a chance of gaining intelligence by intercepting the letter.

The expedition under Brown was entirely successful. He arrived on the heights above the landing on the 17th, without being discovered. Having examined the position of the enemy as closely as possible, and made a proper disposition of his force, so as to prevent their escape, he attacked them the next morning, and got possession of the landing place, the mills, and a block-house that had been erected near them. A party of forty rangers, under Captain Allen, at the same time attacked and



carried Mount Defiance. Another detachment was sent to the Old French Lines on the Ticonderoga side, where they surprised and captured a company of troops. The whole number of prisoners taken at these places was two hundred and ninety-three, consisting of twelve commissioned officers, one hundred and forty-four British, one hundred and nineteen Canadians, and eighteen artificers. One hundred and eighteen American prisoners were released, and a considerable quantity of stores was destroyed.

Intelligence was received from Colonel Johnson, the next day, that Mount Independence was so fully protected by redoubts and the shipping, and its garrison was reported to be so strong, that an assault upon it, even with their united forces, was deemed to be too hazardous. Ticonderoga might have been carried; but as it could not be held long without taking Mount Independence also, its acquisition was not deemed important enough to make up for the probable loss. The place was cannonaded for some time from the Old French Lines, and from Mount Defiance, but without doing it much injury. Cannon were also mounted on the sloop and gunboats that had been captured, and in these an attempt was made, on the 24th, against the enemy's post at

Diamond Island. But intelligence had been received of their coming, and the battery on the island was so well served, that the sloop and boats were much injured before they got near the shore, and the enterprise was abandoned. After burning the enemy's boats on the east side, Brown quitted the lake, and returned to Skenesborough.

On the morning of the 19th, Gates wrote to Lincoln, that, in the opinion of all the officers he had consulted with, it was best for him to march immediately to Stillwater, and to take post on the left flank of the British. "The chance of war," he added, "is yet to be decided between General Burgoyne and me; be that event prosperous or adverse, your posting your army somewhere in the vicinity of mine must be infinitely advantageous to both."

The trial was even nearer at hand, than the General had supposed. On the very day on which this letter was written, the battle of Stillwater was fought; and its issue, though neither army could claim the honor of a victory, really sealed the ruin of Burgoyne. The engagement began about noon, and ended only with the coming on of night, neither party gaining a foot of ground, and both returning at the same time to their respective encampments under cover of the darkness. Colonel

Brooks's regiment from Massachusetts was the last on the ground, and it was nearly eleven o'clock at night when he returned to the encampment. The British lost about five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the American loss was but three hundred and nineteen, the difference being attributable to their superiority of number, and to some advantage in the ground.

Any thing short of a decisive victory would not have relieved the British army from its difficulties, and this drawn battle was its destruction. They had made a desperate effort, and expended much of their strength ; but the result only disheartened officers and men, while the Indians and Canadians deserted them and went off in great numbers. The Americans, on the other hand, were full of hope, and labored diligently in strengthening their position, every hour adding to their forces. Lincoln received Gates's letter at Skenesborough, whither he had marched with seven hundred men, intending to reach Hudson's River from that point. He immediately retraced his steps, and proceeded, by way of Pawlet and Manchester, to Gates's camp, where he arrived on the 22d. He had previously sent General Warner to take command of the two parties under Brown and Johnson at Ticonderoga ; and he left Gen-

eral Bayley with a small force at Manchester. Another detachment was left between Fort Anne and Fort Edward, the object of each of these parties being to block up the road against Burgoyne's retreat, which purpose they fully accomplished. Immediately on his arrival in camp, Lincoln received the command of the right wing, consisting of Nixon's, Glover's, and Patterson's brigades, with the eastern militia.

The two armies remained in position very near each other, hardly a night passing without alarms, and frequent attacks were made on the British advanced guards. Thus constantly harassed, short of supplies, and compelled to cover their foraging parties with large detachments, the only hope of the enemy rested on a diversion in their favor to be made by Sir Henry Clinton advancing up the Hudson from New York, and attacking the American posts in the Highlands. With this view, an expedition was made up the river, and it succeeded in capturing Forts Clinton and Montgomery ; but it was too late, and it did not advance far enough to be of any service to Burgoyne's army. Abandoned to his fate, the British General resolved to have one more desperate fight, in order to save the honor of his troops, and to manifest, at all events, a determination to "die game."

On the 7th of October, a detachment of fifteen hundred chosen men was directed against the left of the American position, in the hope of turning it, or of opening a passage through the lines. They were met with great gallantry by the troops in this quarter commanded by General Arnold, who acted, during the whole day, with a reckless valor that savored of insanity. The advance of the British was soon checked; the Americans became the assailants, and extended their attack along the enemy's line, so that it was impossible to reinforce the party which Burgoyne had pushed forward on his right. They were soon overpowered, therefore, and obliged to retreat. General Gates, who remained within the American lines, pushed forward strong reinforcements from his own right, which was not engaged. Encouraged by the success already obtained, and by the presence of these fresh troops, the Americans dashed forward to assault that portion of the enemy's camp into which the discomfited troops had retired. An attack upon the works held by the British light infantry was not successful, as an abatis and other obstructions had been placed in front, which hindered the rapidity of the advance, and exposed the troops to a prolonged fire. Arnold then put himself at the head of Colonel Jackson's Massachu-

setts regiment, and rushed against the lines and the redoubt held by Colonel Breyman, at the head of the German auxiliaries. This assault was entirely successful, Arnold himself being the first to enter the works, where he received a severe wound. Breyman was killed, and many of his troops were taken prisoners. The Americans got possession of a large space in the right and rear of the British lines, and retained it ; but they were prevented from improving their success by the approach of night, which put a stop to the action.

General Lincoln had no immediate share in the action, as he commanded the right wing, which remained at their lines, as it was thought at first that the attack on the left was a mere feint, and that the chief assault would be on the river side of the American encampment. He reconnoitred the enemy's position at midnight, and upon his report, Gates ordered him to lead forward the right wing at daybreak towards the enemy's lines. This was done, and the British army, without waiting to meet them, abandoned their works, and fell back to a rising ground in the rear. The troops immediately took possession of the deserted lines, and had several skirmishes with small parties of the enemy during the day. Lincoln himself, in leading a body of militia round to take

post in the rear of Burgoyne's army, fell in with a small party of British in a thick wood, whom he mistook for Americans, and approached within a few yards of them before he discovered his error. They fired as he was wheeling his horse, and a shot struck him, and fractured his right leg. He escaped, however, and was carried back to his quarters.

The wound proved very severe, as the bone was splintered; and it was thought, at first, that amputation was inevitable. But by great care this was avoided; and after a tedious and painful confinement of nearly a year, he recovered the use of his leg, though he walked lame for the rest of his life. As the wound was received in a slight skirmish at some distance from the camp, the circumstances were imperfectly known; and many years afterwards, when General Heath published his "Memoirs," he gave a very inaccurate account of the affair, leaving it doubtful whether the shot that did the injury was fired by the British, or by one of Lincoln's own party. Naturally offended by such an injurious statement, Lincoln wrote with some warmth to Heath, giving a minute account of the affair, and requiring that the mistake should be corrected in a subsequent edition, if one should be published. This opportunity for correction never occurred; the

letter has not yet been printed, and as it gives a particular account of the movements of the Americans after the battle, it is worth while to insert it here with some abridgment.

“SIR,

“Boston, March 19th, 1799.

“Those who read your *Memoirs* may be led into an error by your account of the battle of Bemus’s Heights, near the Hudson. By your representation there, it appears that General Arnold and myself were wounded on the same day and in the same action, and that it is problematical whether I was wounded by our own troops or by the enemy. The world is left to guess at the cause, and to put what construction it pleases them on the event. Permit me, Sir, now to state to you the facts as they took place, which I should have been happy to do at any time, if you had expressed a wish for information on the subject.

“On the 7th of October, 1777, the British troops moved by their right. This was considered as a show of turning our left, or of diverting us by a feint there, while their real intentions were to attack in force our right. General Gates therefore ordered General Arnold to advance with the left, where he commanded, and the right to their alarm posts; and as matters became more serious on the left, he



reinforced from the right division till victory declared in our favor, and the day ended gloriously for America. Towards the close of this action, General Arnold was wounded.

“General Gates being anxious to learn, if possible, the effect of this action on the enemy, and what would be their consequent movements, ordered me to reconnoitre their camp during the night. In this duty, General Glover accompanied me. On my return, a little before daybreak on the 8th, I reported that the enemy appeared in a state of inquietude, lying on their arms, and that appearances indicated a retreat, if not a flight. I was then ordered to move at daylight, with the right of the army, to feel the enemy, and, if possible, to obtain a more perfect knowledge of their designs. The right accordingly moved; and, on showing ourselves in front of their lines, they immediately abandoned their works, and retired to a rising ground, covered with a thick wood, a little in the rear. We availed ourselves of their works, and they gave perfect security to our troops.

“I stated my opinion that the enemy would attempt a flight, and try to ford the Hudson at Fort Edward; and that it was important to send a body of militia to occupy that ford, and prevent the enemy from passing it. The General approved of this suggestion, and ordered

me to carry it into effect. In attempting to execute this order, I fell in with a body of the enemy's troops, in a thick wood, detached to cover their right while I was absent at headquarters. I entered an open cart path, which led through the wood, rode in it some distance, and did not discover any troops till I turned an angle in the road. Then a body of men opened to my view. At first, I could not distinguish them by their dress from our own troops, two of them having scarlet clothes, others being in blue, (the Hessian uniform,) and some being clad like our militia. A few of our men, two or three in a company, had British uniforms taken in a prize; the other Continental troops were in blue, while our militia resembled in dress the people of the country who had joined the enemy.

“In this state of uncertainty, I continued my route until I was within a few yards of them, so near as perfectly to discover my error. As soon as the enemy perceived this, and that I was checking and turning my horse, I saw the two in British uniform present and fire. The ball from one of their pieces entered my right leg. Thereupon the party opened a scattering fire upon me, and kept it up till I turned the angle before mentioned. I was every day with the militia; I had been

absent from them but a very short time; I returned with the same dress, and on the same horse, which were well known to them; and I was within a few yards of the party which fired. From this statement of the facts, I believe no person, whose mind is not obscured by prejudice, will think it problematical by what troops I was wounded."

Prevented by his wound from being present at the surrender of Burgoyne's army, which took place on the 17th, General Lincoln was carried to Albany, where he remained under surgical treatment more than three months, before he was able to travel. In January, 1778, a sleigh being prepared with a couch, on which he could recline at length, he was able to be transported in it to Boston, where he arrived on the 23d, and, shortly after, was carried to his family in Hingham. His recovery was very slow, for several exfoliations of bone took place, by which the leg was eventually made two inches shorter than its mate. The wound opened occasionally for years afterwards, and discharged small pieces of bone; but he considered himself fit for duty in August, 1778, when he rejoined the army under General Washington.

During his confinement, some dispute oc-

curred respecting his rank, compared with that of General Arnold. The claims of the latter to promotion had been unjustly passed over by Congress; and when his eminent services and daring valor as displayed at Danbury, in Connecticut, and at Saratoga, had earned for him restoration to his proper office, a question arose whether he was superior in command to the five major-generals, who had been appointed in February, 1777. In regard to four of them, Sterling, Mifflin, St. Clair, and Stephen, his claim to precedence was admitted; for, before this appointment, he had been their senior on the list of brigadiers.

But the case of Lincoln, the fifth, was somewhat different. He had not held any rank in the Continental service before this appointment, but had been transferred from the militia of Massachusetts, where he had held the rank of major-general for nine months before he received a commission from Congress. Granting, then, that Arnold ought to have been appointed a major-general on the same day with himself, the principle acknowledged on all hands required, that officers appointed to the same grade on the same day should take rank of each other according to the dates of their previous commissions. Before the 19th of February, 1777, Arnold had been the senior

Continental brigadier, while Lincoln had been a militia major-general. Precedence could be claimed for the former, then, only on the ground of a distinction between Continental and militia officers; and if this were admitted, Lincoln argued that the lowest officer in the army, who had held a Continental commission before this 19th of February, might claim rank over him. Nominally a major-general, he might still be put under the command of a captain.

Lincoln at first intimated his intention to throw up his command; but he was probably persuaded to allow the matter to pass over silently, without pressing it to a formal adjudication. Practically, the question never arose between him and Arnold, as the two did not afterwards meet in command in the same army. The former, soon after he rejoined the main army, was sent to take the command at the south; and before he returned, Arnold had become a traitor, and had joined the British. Mr. Lovell's strong language respecting the high esteem in which Lincoln was held in camp was not exaggerated. His amiable disposition, his patience, and fine tact, enabled him to avoid all causes of offence, and to gather and secure troops of affectionate friends. During his long confinement, the letters that he received from his brother officers were filled with expressions

of the warmest attachment, coupled with the most earnest desires for his return to the service. This was particularly the case with the officers of the division, which had been under his command in the main army, whose wishes for his recovery were united with very broad intimations of their dislike of his successor.

The Commander-in-chief had an opportunity, in May of this year, to show the sincerity of his esteem for Lincoln's character, and his approbation of his public services. A French gentleman had sent to him three sets of epaulets and sword-knots, two of which were to be presented to any friends, whom he might choose. Washington immediately selected Arnold and Lincoln, and forwarded a set to each, with a very kind and complimentary letter. The following is an extract from Lincoln's reply, dated at Worcester, May 20th, 1778.

"Permit me to return my most cordial thanks, and to assure your Excellency that this testimony of your approbation of my conduct fills me with the strongest sentiments of duty and affection; it will always be remembered with the warmest gratitude, and be ranked among the highest honors which have been conferred on me in life.

"My leg has acquired so much strength, that I can bear considerable weight on it. There have been lately several exfoliations; but the

openings are now small, and the limb is free from pain and inflammation.

“By the advice of my surgeons, I came here week before last, with Mrs. Lincoln, for the sake of a ride. She was immediately taken with the smallpox in the natural way, and now lies very ill.”

Mrs. Lincoln recovered from this attack; but anxiety on her account retarded the restoration of her husband's health, and probably delayed his return to camp. It was not till the 7th of August, that Washington wrote to the President of Congress, saying, “I have the pleasure to acquaint Congress that Major-General Lincoln arrived here yesterday, and that he is happily so far recovered from his wound as to be able to take his command in the line.” Philadelphia had been evacuated by the British, France had made common cause with America against England, and the war generally had assumed a new aspect, more friendly to the cause of liberty.

The English ministry, having found by successive trials that their troops, though often victorious, could make no permanent impression on the states of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were now turning their eyes to the southward, in the hope of subduing a country that was more thinly peopled, and where the inhabitants were less uni-



ted in feeling, besides being weakened by the number of their slaves. Congress divined their intention, though they had no certain information of it; and as the first measure for strengthening their forces in this quarter, on the 25th of September, they appointed General Lincoln to the chief command of the American army in the southern department. Washington informed Lincoln of his appointment on the 3d of October, and five days afterward the latter began his journey to Charleston.

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### CHAPTER III.

*Situation of Affairs at the South. — Howe defeated before Savannah. — Successes of Moultrie and Pickens. — Lincoln sends Ashe into the Upper Country of Georgia. — Ashe surprised and defeated. — Lincoln advances up the River. — Prevost invades South Carolina, and advances against Charleston. — The State offers Neutrality. — Retreat of Prevost, and Arrival of Lincoln. — Battle of Stono Ferry. — Result of Prevost's Invasion.*

THE state of affairs in Georgia and the Carolinas justified extreme apprehensions, if the



enemy should send any considerable force against them. These states had as yet experienced little of the hardships of the war. Except the abortive expedition under Sir H. Clinton against Charleston, in 1776, which was defeated by the gallant defence of Fort Moultrie, no forces had been directed against them, and they had slumbered peacefully, while the contest was raging fiercely at the north. Their preparations for war were consequently very imperfect. In the country bordering on the Atlantic, military spirit was at a low ebb, and there was but scanty provision of arms and military stores. In the upper regions, the state of affairs was still worse. "At every period before the war," writes Dr. Ramsay, a southern historian, "the western wilderness of these states, which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle and disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government. Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of loyalty; and of that class was a great proportion of those, who, in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the King's friends."

It was evident that there were no laurels to be reaped in such a field. The selection of Lincoln for the command at this period was the most fortunate that could have been made. The service required a man of great patience, fortitude, and discretion, mild and conciliatory in disposition, indefatigable in labor, and having rather the administrative qualities of a governor, than the military talents of a general. In fact, military skill was little needed, except for disciplining irregular soldiers, or conducting a retreat; the issue of a pitched battle with the regular forces of England was pretty sure to be disastrous. The cool judgment, equanimity, and indomitable perseverance of the Hingham town-clerk were better suited for the exigencies of such a station, than the impetuous bravery of an Arnold, or the military knowledge and tactics of a Lee.

In his journey to the south, Lincoln was detained nearly ten days at Philadelphia, in a conference with Congress; at Williamsburg, Virginia, there was a further delay of two days, arising from an accidental fall from his carriage, which considerably injured his right knee. Going through North Carolina, he met Governor Caswell at Kingston, on the 19th of November, and concerted measures with him for raising and forwarding the two thousand

militia which Congress had ordered out from this state. He did not arrive in Charleston till the 4th of December, and he was engaged at this place for the rest of the month, in concert with the Governor and General Moultrie, in measures for increasing the army and providing military stores. The letters he received from Georgia, from Governor Houstoun, and from General Robert Howe, who had held the chief command in these states, but had been ordered to repair to the north as soon as Lincoln arrived, soon satisfied him that defence, instead of attack, must be his sole object.

Within a few days, news arrived that a British fleet had appeared off the mouth of the Savannah River. It had on board a force of over two thousand men, commanded by Colonel Campbell, whose first object was to obtain possession of Savannah. Howe, who had collected four or five hundred militia in addition to his eight hundred Continentals, posted them very advantageously across the main road leading to Savannah, about half a mile from the town. Unluckily, the British commander received intelligence, from a negro, of a by-path, which led through the morass, on the right of the Americans, to their rear. This enabled a large detachment to pass undiscovered between Howe's troops and the town, so

that a heavy fire was unexpectedly opened upon them from behind, just as the attack began in front. Dismayed by the unexpected danger, the Americans almost immediately broke and fled; and, the difficulties of the ground now operating against them, the royal troops pursued with great execution. Howe lost over five hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides all his artillery and baggage; while the British loss was but seven killed and nineteen wounded. The town, with the shipping and stores, fell into the hands of the enemy.

General Prevost, the British commander in Florida, invaded Georgia from the south, by a concerted plan, just at the time that Campbell attacked Savannah. The only obstacle in the way of the former was a fort at Sunbury, occupied by a garrison of only two hundred men, under Major Lane, who was obliged to surrender at discretion. Prevost then advanced and joined Campbell at Savannah, where he took the command of the united forces, and held all the low country of Georgia in subjection.

Such was the introduction to Lincoln's period of command at the south. Before he had fairly arrived at the scene of action, the only American army in the field was beaten, and a

great part of it captured, and one state was entirely subdued and lost to the Union. Still he did not despair, but exerted himself to the utmost to obtain recruits and supplies, and to hasten on the reinforcements from the neighboring states. North Carolina sent two thousand militia, under Generals Ashe and Rutherford, to Charleston before the end of December; and if it had been possible to arm them there at once, they might have prevented the entire subjection of Georgia. But they were detained there ten days, waiting for arms; and Lincoln was obliged to take the field with only nine hundred and fifty men, made up of the poor remnant of Howe's army, of two regiments from Charleston, and some levies and militia. With these, on the 3d of January, 1779, he took post at Purysburg, on the Carolina side, about thirty miles from the mouth of the Savannah River. General Ashe joined him on the 31st of January, with eleven hundred militia; and other troops having come in meanwhile, his army amounted nominally to about three thousand seven hundred, of whom only eleven hundred were Continentals.

The enemy, having spread themselves over Georgia, and finding that no serious opposition was to be feared from the people of this state,

began to extend their operations into Carolina. General Prevost's whole force was four thousand men; but they were necessarily dispersed in many detachments, to hold possession of the whole country, so that his available means for an incursion beyond the river were small. He detached Major Gardiner, however, with two hundred, to establish himself on the island of Port Royal, and take possession of Beaufort. But General Moultrie attacked him, on the 3d of February, with about an equal number of militia, and, after an action of an hour, obliged him to retreat precipitately, leaving behind several of his wounded. The Charleston militia artillery behaved admirably in this affair.

The South Carolina militia generally gave Lincoln much trouble by their insubordination. About seven hundred and fifty of them were at his head-quarters, under General Richardson, and were with difficulty kept from disbanding at any moment. General Williamson, who had command of those in the upper country, could send none of them to the main army, as he had an extensive Indian frontier, and many disaffected people to watch. The British had emissaries in the western settlements of both states, who labored strenuously to induce the loyalists to rise and join Prevost's forces at Augusta. About seven hundred Car-

olina tories came together under Colonels Boyd and More, and marched through the western districts towards Augusta, plundering as they went. Colonel Pickens collected about two hundred militia, near Ninety-Six, to oppose them; and, being joined by Colonel Dooly with one hundred and forty others, he pursued and overtook them near Phillips's Fort, on Kettle Creek. Boyd's men were taken by surprise, and driven in much confusion across the creek, and through a cane swamp. The rout was complete, Boyd being killed, with about forty of his men; fourteen were captured, and about twenty of their prisoners were released.

The difficulties with which Lincoln had to contend at this period may be inferred from the following extract from a letter to him by James Lovell, then a member of Congress, dated February 12th. "I never think of your situation but it puts me into a state of mind very unfit for writing to you. The unprovided situation of the department in which you command was always in my view, notwithstanding what I heard said to the contrary. All our movements are months too late. Had you been on the spot, to have reconciled contending interests among the people of the two invaded states before the foreign enemy arrived, you might have so checked the first invaders,



that they would not have been able to co-operate, as now, with the troops from New York. But why should I now talk of *ifs*? What is to be done, as matters now are? I think you are not in a condition to do much, if any thing, for Georgia, the enemy having such facilities for transporting themselves to your rear, and injuring Carolina in your absence."

The imminent danger in which South Carolina was now placed led to more energetic measures for her protection. John Rutledge, a patriot of high character and great activity and decision, was made governor, and invested with dictatorial powers. Under his firm administration, the resources of the state were taxed to the utmost, though they were still insufficient for the end proposed. A regiment of cavalry was formed, and the militia were called into the field in greater numbers. A stringent law was passed for the government of these irregular troops, subjecting the refractory to be turned over into the Continental corps, or to summary trial and execution.

The army was now in such a state that its commander could think, not indeed of attack, but of defensive operations on a larger scale. The position of the enemy, so far up the river as Augusta, enabling them to communicate



with the loyalists in the back settlements, and thereby to stop the supplies that would otherwise be sent to the Americans, was a serious evil. To confine them more closely to their quarters, or, if possible, to dislodge them from the place altogether, Lincoln sent General Ashe with fifteen hundred militia, and one hundred Georgia Continentals, to take post opposite Augusta. This officer arrived at his destination on the 13th of February, and, a very exaggerated report of his strength having reached the ears of the British commander, Augusta was abandoned with great precipitation, and the troops were hurried off towards Savannah. Intelligence of this retreat being transmitted to Lincoln, he ordered Ashe to cross the river as soon as possible, and follow the enemy down, lest, with their united forces, they should fall upon Purysburg during his absence. These orders were obeyed; but the militia marched very slowly, and did not, till the 27th, arrive at Brier Creek, a considerable stream emptying into the Savannah from the west. The horse were sent forward to harass the enemy's rear; and they took a few prisoners, but were too few to attempt anything serious. This slowness of movement was the more reprehensible, as Lincoln had ordered the

militia, for the sake of expedition, to leave all their baggage on the north side of the river.

Meanwhile, the enemy had recovered from their false alarm, and were preparing to strike a heavy blow against the troops who had caused it. Ashe remained inactive for four days, alleging the difficulty of repairing the lower bridge over the creek, which the British had broken down behind them; it might have been restored in a few hours. He kept little guard during this time, so that there was every facility for taking him by surprise. Leaving a body of troops under Major Macpherson in front, to attract the attention of the Americans, Colonel Prevost, with nine hundred men, secretly took a circuitous route, passed the creek by a ford fifteen miles further up, and came unexpectedly upon the rear of Ashe's position. The few Georgia Continentals, under General Elbert, formed and advanced with great steadiness, opening a sharp fire upon them. Ashe drew up the two North Carolina regiments about one hundred yards in the rear of Elbert, but remained there wholly inactive; and the firing had hardly begun, when this whole line broke and fled, without discharging a musket. The Georgians, being thus deserted, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, also turned and endeavored to escape; but their

leader and most of the men were taken prisoners. Ashe made hardly an attempt to rally the militia, but accompanied them in their flight, then left them, and plunged into the swamp, swam the river, and arrived at General Rutherford's post with only two officers and two privates. According to his own letter, he was the first of the fugitives who got there, several coming in afterwards. Never was an army more quickly dispersed; it was a race rather than a battle. The British had but five killed and eleven wounded, while they killed or captured more than three hundred of the Americans. Most of the militia, who escaped, went quietly to their own homes, not more than four hundred and fifty of them coming into the American camp again.

The defeat of this detachment deprived Lincoln of one third of his army, secured the British in their possession of the whole of Georgia, and enabled them to communicate at their ease with the Indians and tories in the back parts of the Carolinas. The one thousand men that Congress had ordered to be raised in Virginia to join his army had not arrived, and an aid-de-camp, who was despatched to hasten their coming, wrote back that not a third part of them had been collected; and such apathy pervaded the councils of the state,

that there was little hope of obtaining any further reinforcements in that quarter. The active exertions of Governors Caswell and Rutledge, however, brought together considerable bodies of militia from their respective states; and these were necessarily disposed at places remote from each other, so as to be at hand in case of invasion either by the seacoast, from Savannah or Augusta, or of an inroad by the savages and the disaffected from the west. South Carolina was really threatened on all sides except the north. Governor Rutledge established himself with some militia at Orangeburg, a central position, well adapted for receiving and distributing a force so uncertain in its character.

Lincoln's main army being thus relieved from the necessity of watching many points at once, it was determined, in a council of war, to resume the attempt to get possession of Augusta, and the upper country of Georgia, and thus confine the enemy to points near the coast. Leaving General Moultrie, therefore, with a thousand men, at Purysburg and at Black Swamp, a few miles above, Lincoln himself, with the main body, marched off, on the 23d of April, towards Augusta. General Prevost, the British commander, observed this movement, and resolved to make a feint of

advancing towards Charleston, thinking that Lincoln would be recalled by the danger of the capital. He crossed the river towards its mouth with two thousand four hundred men, and Moultrie's small force necessarily retreated before him. About one hundred Indians accompanied Prevost in this expedition, and did much to heighten the alarm of the inhabitants. Intelligence of this invasion was received by Lincoln on the 2d of May; he rightly interpreted it as a feint, and, sending off three hundred of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, besides requesting the Governor to march the militia immediately from Orangeburg to Charleston, he crossed the river with his own force, and advanced down its left bank towards Savannah. This course would defeat Prevost's object, if he did not think seriously of attacking Charleston, would alarm him for the safety of his own posts, now imperfectly guarded, in the lower part of Georgia, while it would cause but little delay in repairing to the defence of South Carolina, if the British really thought of establishing themselves there.

This was doubtless the best policy, and Prevost would probably have gained very little by his expedition, but have been obliged to return in haste, if the Carolinians, even in the low country, had been united and firm in their at-

tachment to the American cause. Unluckily, they were not so ; a great panic was spread among them by the capture of their negroes and the plundering of their habitations, and above all by the dread of the Indian savages ; and many of them hastened to apply to the British General for pardon and protection. Some were even base enough to encourage him to attack Charleston, representing, in terms which, as subsequent events showed, were hardly exaggerated, that many of its inhabitants were loyalists at heart, and the city would make but a feeble defence. Their statements had so much effect, that Prevost actually changed his mind, and what he had at first intended only as a feint was converted into a fixed operation. But this change of purpose caused some delay, as he had not made preparations for a serious movement.

Moultrie conducted his retreat very ably ; but, instead of receiving reinforcements as he passed along in this imminent danger, many of his militia deserted him, and went to look after their families and property, which were in the route of the invading army. He left an advanced guard of two hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Laurens, at the Coosahatchie River, and took post at Tulifinny Bridge, a few miles in their rear. Laurens maintained

his post bravely, but being attacked by a much superior force, with artillery, he was obliged to fall back upon the main body. This obliged Moultrie himself to hasten his retreat, with hardly a hope of making another stand on that side of Charleston. Rutledge, with characteristic energy, hurried down with five hundred militia to his aid. He could not reach the coast till Moultrie himself was driven into Charleston. He joined him there, however, on the 10th, before the British army came up, and the junction of their forces saved the place. Colonel Harris also arrived, after a very severe march, with the three hundred Continentals that had been despatched by Lincoln to the aid of Moultrie. But for the delay already spoken of, Prevost might have crossed the Ashley before either Rutledge or Harris came up, and then the fall of Charleston, at that time wholly undefended on the land side, would have been inevitable.

As the garrison was now of respectable size, the preparations for defence were pushed forward with great vigor. All the houses in the suburbs were burned; lines and abatis were carried across the peninsula, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals from the Cooper to the Ashley River. Large gangs of negroes were employed night and day on the fortifi-



cations, and the inhabitants, even to the children, lent their aid to the work. Lincoln, who had advanced some way down the left bank of the Savannah, received advices from Moultrie on the 6th, which left no doubt that a serious attack on Charleston was now intended. A council of war was immediately held, and it was resolved to march down to Summerall's Ferry, and there cross into Carolina, and proceed with all expedition to the aid of Moultrie.

On the 11th of May, General Prevost, with nine hundred men, crossed the Ashley, leaving, for the present, the main body of the army, with the baggage, on the south side of the river. On the same day, Pulaski, who had been long expected, entered the place with his corps of legionary infantry from the north. The garrison now amounted to nearly three thousand men, more than equal in number to the assailants. Yet, as time was precious for the completion of the works, when Prevost sent in a summons for the place to surrender, the negotiation and exchange of flags were judiciously protracted for twelve hours. But the answer that was finally returned places in a striking light the general lukewarmness of this people in the American cause. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed to propose, that South Carolina



should remain in a condition of neutrality till the close of the war, "and that the question whether the state shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers."

This proposal did not come merely from the commander of a military garrison, in which case, of course, it would have been only nugatory; the Governor of the state, clothed with discretionary powers, was in the place, and probably most of his Council along with him. Whether such a proposition would have been justifiable under any circumstances is a question that needs not be discussed; at any rate, it would not have evinced much honorable or patriotic feeling. But to make such an offer in the present case was conduct little short of treason. Till within a fortnight, not an enemy's foot had pressed their ground; and even now, the British held no strong position, had captured none of their forts, and occupied only the little space actually covered by the army in front of the town. The garrison equalled this army in strength, and might safely bid it defiance. No succors were at hand for the British, while the certain arrival of Lincoln within a week would place them between two fires, and make their position emi-

nently hazardous. Yet, with these prospects before them, the authorities of the place made a proposition, which was equivalent to an offer from the state to return to its allegiance to the British crown. The transaction deserves particular notice here, because the surrender of Charleston in the following year, a surrender brought about by the prevalence of the same unpatriotic feelings, was made the ground of some very unjust reflections on the conduct of Lincoln, their military commander.

General Prevost rejected this very advantageous offer, alleging that he did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted that all persons in arms should be surrendered as prisoners of war. The remarks of Colonel Lee, in his "*Memoirs of the War*," upon this transaction, are just and forcible. "What train of reasoning could have produced the rejection of the proposition to surrender the town on condition of neutrality by a general situated as was Prevost, I confess myself incapable of discerning. The moment he found the works could not be carried, he ought to have exerted himself to procure possession by negotiation; and certainly the condition of neutrality was in itself eligible. It disarmed South Carolina for the war, the effect of which upon her infant sister, already nearly strangled, would have

been conclusive; and Congress would have soon found, that her army, unaided by South Carolina, could not be maintained in Georgia."

As the garrison would not surrender themselves to be prisoners of war, they prepared for an immediate assault; but this was not attempted. Some skirmishing took place outside of the lines, and Major Huger, a distinguished officer and citizen, was killed by mistake by his own countrymen. On the same night, the 12th, the enemy, having probably received intelligence that Lincoln was close at hand, decamped precipitately, recrossed the Ashley, and took post three miles above the ferry. Lincoln's army did not actually arrive for more than two days after the enemy's retreat. When the army at last came up, it took post at Dorchester, on the Charleston peninsula, while Prevost was on the south side of the Ashley, a few miles below. But the British remained here only a day or two, and then commenced their retreat along the sea-side, so as to keep in communication with their shipping.

Although Prevost's expedition had failed, so far as its main object, the capture of Charleston, was concerned, Lincoln was desirous of striking a blow at him while he still lingered on the coast, and of thus termi-

nating with decisive effect a campaign, which had thus far lingered on in passive and toilsome operations. The Stono Inlet separates John's Island from the main land, and at the head of the ferry across this inlet, the van of the British army was stationed, consisting of fifteen hundred men. The rest of their troops were on the island, together with the baggage and stores, and a bridge of boats connected the two posts. It was determined that an attack should be made on this advanced post, in the hope that it might be carried before assistance could be brought from the island; but it was first thought necessary to wait for a reinforcement from the town. This was not easy to be obtained. Moultrie wrote, on the following day, "The people in the town are under such apprehensions, that they will not hear of any troops leaving it; but you may depend upon my utmost exertions for the general good." The garrison of Charleston was now twice as large as the army under Lincoln. Yet so slowly and reluctantly were troops sent to him from the town, that it was the 4th of June before he was able to take post at Stono, opposite the van of the British army.

During this delay, the temporary bridge was broken up, as the vessels that composed it

were needed for transportation to Savannah, and the enemy's force on the Stono side was reduced to little over six hundred men, under Colonel Maitland. Lincoln determined to storm this position on the morning of the 20th, and accordingly sent orders to Moultrie, on the preceding day, to move forward fifteen hundred men from Charleston, through the Wappoo Cut, and threaten the British on John's Island, so as to prevent them from succoring Maitland. The intention was, that Moultrie's force should appear at the north end of the island, just as Lincoln was beginning the attack at Stono; and if these orders had been promptly executed, the success of the Americans, most likely, would have been complete.

The Americans were arranged by Lincoln, with the North Carolina militia, under General Butler, on the right, and the Continental troops, under General Sumner, on the left. The American reserve consisted of a small party of horse, and a brigade of Virginia militia under General Mason. The Hessians were on the left of the enemy, and Colonel Hamilton, with the North Carolina loyalists, formed their centre. Their flanks appeared secure, as one end of the line rested on a morass, and the other on a deep ravine.

The attack began on two advanced com-

panies of the Highlanders, who fought bravely, and were mostly cut up before they were driven back into their line. Encouraged by this success, the Americans were ordered to hold their fire, and advance with the bayonet. They obeyed with alacrity; but, when within sixty yards of the abatis, receiving a general volley of artillery and small arms, they stopped and returned the fire. In a short time, the Hessians were driven back; but the British reserve came up and supplied their place, while the broken troops were formed again in the rear. Lincoln endeavored to stop the fire of his men, and renewed the order to charge. But the enthusiasm of the attack had passed, and the troops did not advance, though they held their ground, and kept up the engagement bravely. An hour and a half had passed since the battle began, and still there were no news of Moultrie's force; but a large body of the enemy on the island were seen approaching the ferry to cross to the aid of their comrades. Lincoln perceived that his weakened force could not withstand an onset from fresh troops, and therefore ordered a retreat. As soon as this began, Maitland ordered his whole line to advance, in the hope of converting this retrograde movement into a rout. To prevent such a disaster, the cavalry in the reserve were

ordered to charge, and they came forward with gallantry ; but a full fire from the British checked their speed, and they were driven back upon the main body. Mason's Virginia militia then advanced, and opened a heavy fire, which checked the British, so that the Americans were drawn off in good order.

The loss of the battle was attributable solely to the failure of the intended coöperation by the militia under General Moultrie. If they had appeared at the time appointed, the enemy could not have brought a reinforcement to the ferry, but would have had enough to occupy them on the island. Moultrie brought up his men to the place indicated, but not till half past four in the afternoon, when the action at Stono was over. As it was, Lincoln drew off his army in good order, and the loss was no greater than that of the British, amounting to about one hundred and sixty on each side. The Americans were allowed to have acted with much gallantry, and Lincoln showed skill and prudence by withdrawing them at the right moment, when the hope of carrying the enemy's works had failed, and before their retreat could be changed into a disorderly flight.

The effect of this battle was to hasten the retreat of Prevost from the vicinity of Charles-



ton. General Moultrie watched his movements from James's Island, in the hope of cutting off his rear guard; but their shipping gave the enemy so much assistance in passing along the creeks and inlets of this indented shore, that no opportunity occurred for attacking them to advantage. Leaving Maitland, with about eight hundred men, at Beaufort, on the Island of Port Royal, in order to retain a slight hold on South Carolina soil at a point so near head-quarters as to be easily reinforced, Prevost returned to Savannah, and took up his quarters there for the season. The Americans now held Augusta and the upper region, and Colonels Few and Dooly, with a small but active militia force, menaced the communications of the British.

Maitland's position at Beaufort gave Lincoln much uneasiness; for the inland navigation and the naval force of the British enabled them to keep out foraging parties, and to hold the neighborhood in constant alarm, while the Americans were unprovided with vessels in which to oppose them. The militia, after the pressing danger caused by Prevost's invasion was over, dispersed to their homes, and only the Continentals remained in the field. With these, hardly nine hundred in number, Lincoln took post at Sheldon, a healthy spot not far



from Beaufort, and convenient for repressing the incursions of the British. The hot season had set in, which, like the winter of the north, puts an end, for some months, to extensive military operations.

Dr. Ramsay justly remarks, that this incursion of Prevost into South Carolina "contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause, but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants." His route lay across the plantations of the wealthiest part of the state, worked by a great number of slaves. Indifferent as to a choice of masters, or allured perhaps by a hope of freedom, the negroes joined the invaders, and returned to Savannah with them, or were sent in British vessels to the West Indies. It was estimated that the enemy carried off at least three thousand of the blacks, and many others took advantage of the invasion to make their escape, so that the planters lost about four thousand of them. In this way, many of the people were reduced from affluence almost to beggary, and the general inclination to get rid of the evils of war at any sacrifice was greatly increased. The essential weakness, in war, of a country tenanted by such a population, was never more strikingly shown than in this instance.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Lincoln wishes to resign his Command, but is persuaded to remain. — Operations in the Upper Country of Georgia. — Arrival of a French Fleet. — Plan for a combined Attack on Savannah. — Difficulties of Lincoln's March into Georgia. — The Siege of Savannah formed. — Colonel White captures a Party of the Enemy by Stratagem. — Assault on the Town, and Repulse. — The Siege raised. — Criticism on this unfortunate Expedition. — Feeble Conduct of the South Carolina Legislature. — Attempt to gain the Coöperation of the Spaniards against the British.*

THE numerous difficulties and annoyances which Lincoln had to contend with at the south, and the operation of a climate to which he was not accustomed, had produced an unfavorable effect on his health. The wound in his leg also opened again, and did much to reduce his strength, so that he became anxious to be released from his burdensome command, and to return to the army under Washington. Too high spirited to ask directly for a release while the aspect of affairs in his department was so unpromising, his aid-de-camp, Major Meade,

whom he had despatched to Philadelphia, in April, on other business, made such a representation to Congress of the state of his health, that it was voted, in complimentary terms, to allow him to resign his separate command, and to rejoin the northern army. In case he availed himself of this permission, General Moultrie was appointed to be his successor.

The earnest remonstrances that were made against his withdrawal, when this became known at the south, were highly honorable to Lincoln, as they showed how much his services were prized in spite of the many unfortunate occurrences of the campaign. One disaster had followed closely upon another during his whole stay in South Carolina, and the prospects for the coming autumn were gloomy in the extreme. But he had met the difficulties of his position with so much fortitude and good judgment, had managed so successfully the feelings of individuals, and acted with so much discretion amid contending interests and prejudices, though he had come among them as an entire stranger, and with authority susceptible of great abuse, that all parties, civil and military, united in urging him to remain with them another year.

General Moultrie, on whom the command would devolve, and who seemed interested,

therefore, to expedite Lincoln's departure, acted a noble and patriotic part, and with self-denying earnestness entreated him to remain. Governor Rutledge wrote to him in a similar strain. "Upon communicating to the Council your favor of the 9th instant, they unanimously desired me to request, in the most pressing terms, that you will not make use of the leave which Congress has given you to return. To express their opinion without compliment to you or disparagement of the gentleman appointed your successor, your character, and knowledge, and experience in the art of war, are such, and the public have so much confidence in you, that your remaining here will insure great good to this and the neighboring state; and they entreat you to rest assured, that your command is altogether satisfactory to the people in general, and to them in particular."

These generous and flattering remonstrances had so much effect, that Lincoln resolved to brave the effects of a summer in Carolina on his shattered health, and to meet the difficulties of another campaign. An intimation to this effect being conveyed to Congress, it was voted, "that Major-General Lincoln be requested to continue his command in South Carolina, if the state of his health will permit, until he

shall receive further directions." Congress took measures, also, though they were tardily carried into effect, for strengthening his army with some more permanent and trustworthy troops than militia. Bland's and Baylor's regiments of dragoons were detached to the south; the recruits lately raised in Virginia for completing the quota of that state were ordered the same way; and four Continental regiments from North Carolina, as soon as their ranks could be filled up, were to join Lincoln's army. If these resolutions had been promptly executed, the army of the south would have been placed on a respectable footing.

During the latter part of this month, Lincoln was confined to his bed by illness in Charleston. Before he had recovered, he received the following disagreeable news from Colonel Charles C. Pinckney, then commanding an advanced post of the little Continental army at Sheldon. "I am sorry to acquaint you, that there was a mutiny this morning in the third regiment, for want of pay and clothing. The greater part of the regiment had their knapsacks on, and were about to march off and go home. Major Wise heard of it, and in a very proper and spirited manner immediately checked it by seizing two of the ring-leaders, and ordering the rest to retire to the tents."

With troops in this condition, and so few in number, or with militia who would disband and go home, in spite of their officers, whenever they judged proper, it is rather surprising that Lincoln accomplished so much, instead of so little, in repelling Prevost's invasion, and against Maitland's force, of less than one thousand men, which still occupied Beaufort. When Major Jameson, with the first regiment of dragoons, and Colonel Parker, with his infantry, arrived from the north, they were stationed near Augusta, to aid General Williamson in protecting the upper country of Georgia. Jameson, with about one hundred men, made an incursion to the south of Brier Creek, and succeeded in surprising the noted royalist partisan McGirt, who with a small band had been committing great depredations on the property of the faithful Americans in that quarter.

The General Assembly of Georgia had several times attempted to organize a government of that state after the loss of Savannah; but they did not succeed till the 24th of July, when a number of them came together at Augusta, and made choice of nine persons to act as an Executive Council. From this board Lincoln received a letter on the 18th of August, earnestly requesting that the whole of General Scott's command, now on its march

to join the southern army, should be sent to protect the upper counties of Georgia. "We are fearful, in case the enemy should move up this way in force, that the greater part of the inhabitants, worn out with fruitless opposition, and fearful of losing their all, would make terms for themselves; and as the mind passes by a natural gradation from one step of infamy to another, we have not the least doubt of their joining the enemy against their countrymen in any other state." It is likely that General Lincoln would have granted this request, if more important affairs at the seaboard had not now claimed his attention.

Count d'Estaing, the French Admiral in the West Indies, was ordered, during the hurricane months, in which all naval operations in those seas were suspended, to afford what assistance he could to the American armies. This season was now at hand, and both Lincoln and Governor Rutledge had communicated with the Count, through M. Plombard, the French Consul at Charleston, urging the great importance of a united attempt against the enemy at Savannah. Anxious to retrieve his reputation from the effects of the failure at Rhode Island the year before, D'Estaing entered heartily into the scheme, and arrived off the coast, on the 1st of September, with a fleet of twenty sail



of the line and some frigates. His coming was so unexpected, that the *Experiment*, a British man-of-war of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, the *Ariel* of twenty-four guns, and two store-ships, fell into his hands. Two or three ships were sent to Charleston to carry news of the fleet, and to form a plan for the coöperation of forces. They arrived on the 4th, and a scheme of operations was then arranged between the Viscount de Fontanges, Governor Rutledge, and General Lincoln. Great haste was necessary, for the French Admiral announced that he must speedily return to the West Indies, and could give only ten days for the attack upon Prevoſt.

Lincoln agreed to march into Georgia one thousand men, while D'Estaing was to land three thousand at Beaulieu, on Ossabaw Sound, a few miles south of Tybee, since his fleet could not enter the river, and march them across the country to join the Americans before Savannah. An express was sent to General McIntosh, at Augusta, to collect all the force he could within twenty-four hours, march down the left bank of the Savannah with all despatch, and take post on the heights at Ebenezer, where he would be joined by the main body of the Americans. Lincoln withdrew the Continental garrison from Fort Moultrie,



leaving their place to be supplied by the militia. He left Charleston on the 8th, and went to join his little army at Sheldon.

On the 10th, the army arrived at Zubly's Ferry, the usual point of crossing the river between Purysburg and Ebenezer. All the means that had been provided for the passage over consisted of two canoes, one of which would hold three, and the other fifteen men, and an unfinished flat. Lincoln ordered this to be completed, and a raft to be made of the boards and timber of the buildings. The next day, the army began to cross, and the raft sank on its first trial; but another canoe was obtained, and with the aid of this and of the now finished flat, most of the troops were transported to the Georgia side before night. The 13th was spent in getting the artillery and wagons across, and repairing the bridges over the creeks in the swamp; and before dark, the army was established at Ebenezer, where it was joined by General McIntosh, with his force from Augusta.

Lincoln remained here nearly two days, waiting to hear that the French had disembarked, and were approaching Savannah; for his own force was still much inferior to that of Prevost, and it was not safe to move forward till he was sure of coöperation from his

allies. On the 15th, the Americans marched, and were met on their way by one of the returning expresses with the agreeable news, that the French were already within a few miles of the town. Lincoln left the army the next morning, and went forward with an escort of horse, to meet and confer with D'Estaing. The two Generals met about noon, some delay having intervened because the Count had been led to take a wrong route. "Just before my arrival," writes Lincoln, "he had sent a summons to General Prevost, requiring his surrender to the arms of France. This I did not know till I saw Prevost's answer. I then remonstrated to the Count against his summoning them to surrender to the arms of France only, while the Americans were acting in conjunction with him. The matter was soon settled, and it was agreed that all negotiations, in future, on our part, should be with the commanding officer of the French forces and the commanding officer of the forces of the United States."

This affair has been misrepresented to Lincoln's disadvantage, as if he had been on the ground, and the French summons had been drawn up with his assent, or as if he had not protested against the act with sufficient determination. It appears, however, that the Amer-

ican General acted both with dignity and prudence. He remonstrated with spirit, and prevented a repetition of the impropriety, while his demeanor was conciliatory enough to preserve that good feeling between the allies which was indispensable for success.

Meanwhile the British were not idle. Informed, by the appearance of the fleet at Tybee, of the arrival of the French on the very day on which Lincoln heard of it at Charleston, instant and vigorous measures were taken to collect their forces and fortify the town. Orders were sent to Maitland, at Beaufort, to leave that post, and hasten across the country by forced marches to Savannah. As four French frigates had entered the river, and driven the British ships up to the town, they were dismantled, their guns added to the batteries on shore, and the marines and sailors were landed to strengthen the garrison. Captain Moncrieff, an able engineer, traced out the fortifications, and the soldiers and sailors, together with large gangs of negroes, worked on them with great ardor.

On two sides, the north and west, Savannah is unassailable, being protected by the river and a thick swamp. The other two sides were open, the ground in front being level and entirely cleared of woods; and they were

now covered by artificial works, consisting of redoubts and batteries, with impalements and traverses thrown up behind, the whole being surrounded by an abatis.

Prevost answered the summons by asking a truce for twenty-four hours, in order to arrange the terms of a surrender. This request was unwarily granted, the only design of the enemy in making it being to gain time for completing the works, and for the arrival of their troops from Beaufort. In fact, on the day of truce, Maitland arrived with eight hundred men, though the difficulties of the march were so great, that an officer of less determined spirit would hardly have made the attempt. The junction of this force made the garrison over twenty-five hundred men, without counting a considerable number of slaves, who were armed and placed in the lines. The presence of Colonel Maitland alone, so high was his reputation for courage and ability, did much to raise the spirits of the besieged.

Having now attained his object, Prevost announced at the conclusion of the truce his determination to defend the town to the last extremity. His defences, being surveyed from the camp of the Americans, were thought too strong to be taken by assault, and the whole attention of the allies was turned to getting

up the battering cannon from the ships. This was a work of no small difficulty, as the road to Beaulieu was bad, the weather very rainy, and the artillery, consisting only of ships' cannon, were not mounted on travelling carriages, but each piece had only one pair of wheels. It was necessary to procure large wheels from the timber cutters, to manufacture others, and to make trucks of the trunks of trees. The allies did not break ground for the first parallel till the 23d, and eleven days more elapsed before the batteries were so far completed, that they could open a fire upon the town. The trenches were begun, as usual, at night, with but little annoyance from the enemy's cannon; but the next morning, the 24th, a party of the besieged, under Major Graham, made a sally, and a sharp conflict ensued. The British were finally repulsed, but the French, incautiously pursuing them too far, came under the fire of their works, and suffered considerably.

While the siege was going on, detached parties of the Americans obtained some success against a few troops of the enemy, who had not succeeded in getting into Savannah before the town was completely invested. On the 19th, Pulaski was sent, with a body of cavalry, against a party of the enemy who had landed on Ogeechee River. He returned the

next day, having made a number of prisoners, and driven the others on board their vessels. On the 1st of October, Colonel White, of the Georgia line, succeeded, by an extraordinary stratagem, in capturing the remainder of what was probably the same party, vessels and all, as they had not dared to leave the river through fear of the French fleet.

White had with him only Captain Etholm, three soldiers, and his servant ; but, knowing how much the British were alarmed by their position, not being able to put to sea, and having the army of the allies between them and Savannah, he conceived the design of frightening them into a surrender. He kindled a number of fires on the shore, ranged in the manner of a camp, rode about giving orders in so loud a voice as to be heard on board the vessels, and then, going out to the enemy with a flag of truce, summoned them to surrender. Captain French, of Delancey's battalion, who commanded the party, believed that a large American force was on the shore, and actually surrendered his detachment, with one hundred and thirty stand of arms, the crews of the vessels, and the five vessels themselves, four of which were armed, the largest mounting fourteen guns. Articles of capitulation being drawn up and signed by him, White pretended that it

was difficult to restrain the animosity and the pillaging propensity of his men, and therefore ordered the whole band to go on shore without their arms, and follow three guides, whom he would send to them, by whom they would be conducted to Lincoln's army, while his party would follow in their rear. They readily assented, for, as most of them were Tories, they had a great dread of their countrymen who acted as militia, since great cruelties were often practised at the south by the irregular troops of the two parties. White sent his three soldiers to guide them, and, remaining behind with Captain Etholm, collected a few militia in the neighborhood, with whom he overtook his prisoners, and brought them safely into camp.

Colonel Lee gives this story in his history of the war, and adds, "The affair approaches too near the marvellous to have been admitted into these Memoirs, had it not been uniformly asserted, as uniformly accredited, and never contradicted." There is no doubt of its truth, as it is related in Lincoln's private manuscript journal of the siege, is mentioned in his letter to Congress, and among his papers I have found Colonel White's letter to him describing the affair, and the original articles of capitulation, signed by "Thomas French, Captain of Delancey's first battalion."



To return to the siege. On the 4th of October, thirty-three cannon and nine mortars having been placed in battery, the allies opened a heavy fire on the town. General Prevost sent out a flag, requesting that the aged, the women, and children might be permitted to leave the town, and embark in the vessels on the river. This request the allied generals refused, probably from vexation at having been outwitted by Prevost in the former truce, which enabled 'Maitland to enter the town, and because they knew that most of the able-bodied inhabitants were in arms on the works, and these would contend more obstinately if they knew that their families were out of danger. The confederate generals have been much censured for this refusal, and it must be allowed that it was seemingly very harsh, though justified by the strict rules of war.

The cannonade and bombardment were kept up with great fury from the 4th to the 9th of October, yet without producing much effect, on account of the unsuitableness of ships' artillery for such a purpose, and the solidity of the now completed defences of the enemy. Some houses in the town were set on fire, and a few lives were lost; but the works were not materially damaged. The British sallied again, under Major McArthur; and though they



did little direct injury, yet, by passing between the two camps of the allies, they adroitly caused the French and Americans to open a fire upon each other, which ceased, however, before much harm was done. On the 8th, Major L'Enfant, with five men, bravely advanced under a heavy fire from the garrison, and set fire to the abatis which covered the enemy's works; but the dampness of the air, and the moisture of the green wood that composed this shelter, soon extinguished the flames.

The time during which D'Estaing had promised to remain for the completion of this enterprise had now long since elapsed, and a council of engineers decided that at least ten days more would be needed for carrying forward the approaches in the regular way into the enemy's works. The impatient temper of the Count could not brook this delay; and he knew that his fleet, if retained upon the coast at this season, was exposed to imminent hazard of an attack from a superior force, or of being injured and dispersed by a storm. The situation of affairs, also, urgently required his presence in the West Indies. Under these circumstances, he informed Lincoln that the siege must either be immediately abandoned, or a final effort be made to take the town by

storm. To carry by assault a place garrisoned by over twenty-five hundred regular soldiers, who had had more than a month to fortify themselves, who were abundantly provided with artillery, and on whose works the operations of the siege had hardly made the slightest impression, was a gallant, but almost desperate undertaking. Yet it was determined upon as the least of two evils.

The morning of the 9th of October was appointed for the storm. Two feigned attacks by the militia were to draw the attention of the besieged towards their centre and left, while the real attack was to be made by the flower of the French and American troops on the right. A depression of the ground along the edge of the swamp, to which the British works extended in this quarter, would enable the assailants to approach very near without being perceived. The principal column of troops, led by D'Estaing and Lincoln in person, was to advance by this hollow way to storm the Spring Hill redoubt in front, while another column, commanded by Count Dillon, taking a more circuitous course through the swamp, was to fall upon the enemy's rear at the same point. The men were to place pieces of white paper in their caps, so as to recognize each other; for, if successful, the

leading files of the two columns would meet in the centre of the same redoubt.

It is stated by Moultrie, that a deserter from one of the volunteer Charleston companies went into the town on the evening of the 3d, and carried to Prevost a full plan of the intended attack. The enemy certainly had information of the hour, and the point that was most threatened, and they made their arrangements accordingly. Many companies were detached from the centre and the left, which were to be only menaced, and were stationed as a reserve in the rear of the Spring Hill redoubt, which was itself filled with troops. The two columns of attack consisted of twenty-five hundred French, six hundred American Continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the Charleston militia. The appointed hour was four o'clock in the morning; but Count Dillon's troops missed the path, got entangled in the swamp, and did not appear before the works till broad daylight.

The column under Lincoln and D'Estaing moved steadily forward, and, being favored by the darkness of the morning, came very near before they were discovered. The moment that they were seen, a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry opened upon them; but they rushed forward, without pause or hesita-

tion, to the foot of the redoubt, and crowded so fast upon each other into the ditch, that they could hardly move to climb the parapet. In this huddled state, the cross fire of the adjoining batteries, and the deliberate shots from the enemy's infantry above, made fearful openings among them, and piled up the dead and wounded in the ditch. Clambering over their comrades' bodies, those still unhurt gained the height of the battery, and stood at last on equal ground with their opponents. Another fierce but momentary struggle ensued, and the enemy were cut down or driven off the platform, and two American standards were planted on the captured parapet.

D'Estaing had already been twice wounded, and carried off the field, when Pulaski, who had been stationed with the cavalry in the rear, with orders not to advance till the redoubt was taken, rushed forward, accompanied by a single officer, to animate the French, fearing that they would be discouraged by the loss of their commander. But before he could reach the spot, he too was struck down by a mortal wound in the thigh, and the French were left virtually without a leader, as Lincoln could not speak their language. The allies had established themselves in the redoubt, but had not spread along the interior

of the lines. Their principal opponent at this point, Captain Tawes of the loyalist dragoons, had fallen dead with his sword plunged in the body of the third assailant that he had slain. Victory seemed almost in the grasp of the allied forces, when the watchfulness and bravery of Maitland turned the fortune of the day. Hastily collecting the grenadiers and marines from the adjoining batteries, he turned them against the head of the column, already breathless and wearied from the effects of the obstinate resistance it had overcome. This timely reinforcement fairly breasted the assailants off the parapet, and tore down the triumphant standards. Lieutenants Hulme, Bush, and Grey were killed in defending their colors, and the gallant Sergeant Jasper received his death wound while grasping the flagstaff; but his hold did not relax, and he bore off the standard to a place of safety before he fell and died.

The head of Count Dillon's column, just too late, now appeared in the rear; but the day had dawned, and it was exposed in full view to a destructive fire from the already triumphant enemy. This was so severe and well sustained, that the front ranks of the party melted away as fast as they were formed, and its leader found it impossible to

gain any lodgment in the works. Maimed and crushed in front, both columns now faltered and recoiled before that terrible storm of lead and iron hail, which one of them had sustained with obstinate courage for the space of fifty-five minutes. Lincoln saw that the day was lost, and gave orders for a retreat, which the troops executed in good order, bearing off all their wounded. The successful enemy respected their desperate valor, and did not offer a pursuit. From the British artillery alone the retiring army received injury, which was considerable.

Both parties gallantly sustained their honor in this murderous assault. The British maintained their posts with unflinching resolution; the French and Americans vied with each other in the reckless bravery with which they threw themselves against the formidable batteries, every volley from which made a ghastly opening in their serried ranks. If Dillon's column had appeared at the appointed time, or if Maitland had been a minute later in hurrying the sixtieth regiment to the rescue, the town would certainly have fallen. The carnage on the part of the allies was frightful; six hundred and thirty-seven of the French and two hundred and forty of the Americans were killed or wounded, making nearly nine

hundred who fell in a single hour. The strength of the works was shown by the comparatively trifling loss of the enemy, who had but about one hundred and twenty killed or wounded. The garrison fought under perfect cover, while most of the assailants never fired a gun; it was part of the general orders of the day, that not a musket should be discharged, under pain of death, till the redoubt was carried.

One noted partisan was killed in this memorable assault, who deserves honorable mention here. Sergeant William Jasper had probably done more injury to the enemy than any one man in the American army. The stories that are told of him by Major Garden and others seem to belong to romance rather than real history. He joined the second Carolina regiment, under Moultrie, at the beginning of the war, and was made a sergeant. His commander had great confidence in him, as an active, stout, and enterprising fellow, and heartily attached to the cause. He received a sort of roving commission, therefore, to go off whenever he liked, taking with him a few of his comrades, for the purpose of surprising a small outpost of the enemy, capturing some of their stragglers, or gaining important intelligence. He would sometimes depart in this



manner, and return with several prisoners before his commander knew that he had gone. "I have known," says Moultrie, "of his catching a party that was looking for him. He has told me that he could have killed single men several times, but would not; he would rather let them get off."

I have before me a letter from him, ill written and worse spelt, dated at Purysburg, July 23d, 1779, in which he informs Lincoln, that, in company with three of the Georgia Continentals, he had gone up the river two days before, hoping to surprise a picket guard. But it turned out to be a patrolling party, from which he had made four prisoners, and brought off some negroes, all of whom he had sent to Charleston. The manner of Jasper's death, a fit termination to a career so honorable, has been already narrated.

Immediately after the unsuccessful assault, D'Estaing informed Lincoln that it was necessary to raise the siege. The latter remonstrated earnestly, on the ground of the great discouragement which this step would bring upon the American cause; but the Count was firm in his determination, alleging that he could not answer to his King for what might happen in the French West Indies, in their present unguarded state. Luckily, their failure



was not embittered by bickerings between the generals, or dissension among the troops of the two countries. Though D'Estaing was somewhat hasty and arrogant in disposition, Lincoln's patience and magnanimity smoothed all difficulties, and the two armies separated with mutual good will.

A week was spent by the French in sending off and embarking their heavy ordnance and stores, and by the Americans in transporting their sick, wounded, and baggage to the other side of the river. On the 18th, the allies broke up their encampment before Savannah, the Americans reaching Zubly's Ferry the next morning, where they crossed the river, and encamped at night in Carolina. The French troops remained one day near Brewton's Hill, about two miles from the town, to give our troops time for retreat to a place of safety, and then marched to a place of embarkation at Kincaid's Landing. The numerous militia, that had been collected, at once dispersed, as usual, to their several homes, and Lincoln was left with a diminished and disheartened force of Continentals to guard the Carolinas against a provoked and triumphant foe.

The causes of the failure of this combined attempt to capture Prevost's army are obvious

enough. That Maitland was allowed to withdraw his force from Beaufort, and enter the town after the French had come up, was a great misfortune, as Savannah must have fallen without his aid; but notwithstanding Colonel Lee's criticism, we see not how it could have been prevented. D'Estaing certainly could not hinder it, as his forces were on the other side of the town; his troops landed below the mouth of the Savannah, and came up from the south, while Maitland entered the town from the north. Lincoln, indeed, might have intercepted him; but the Americans, when they first crossed the river, were hardly one thousand strong, while Maitland's detachment was nearly equal to them in number, and much superior in discipline and equipment, forming the flower of the British army. Lincoln was hurrying across the river to join D'Estaing, for the union of their forces was the pivot of the whole enterprise. As it was, the detachment could not have entered the place without great loss, had not the truce been granted; and for this D'Estaing alone was responsible.

The great mistake was in not marching to the assault immediately after the allies had reached the ground. Had this been done, and had the troops acted with half as much gallantry as they showed three weeks afterwards,

Prevost's fate was certain. None of the redoubts were then completed, the abatis had not been erected, and not a fourth part of the artillery was mounted on the batteries. A simple calculation would have shown the length of time requisite to bring up the clumsy ships' cannon, and to go through the regular operations of a siege. D'Estaing must have seen that he had no time for so tedious a procedure, and that the only alternative was at once to abandon or to consummate the enterprise. The interval between the 18th of September and the 9th of October was so much leisure granted to the besieged for them to complete their fortifications; it was of no advantage whatever to the allies, whose artillery, up to the last, had made hardly any impression on the works. An assault was finally hazarded after the British were fully prepared to receive it, and when the desperate valor of the assailants could not retrieve the effects of their loss of time.

The failure of this expedition caused great discouragement, not only at the south, but throughout the country. But the confidence of the Carolinians in Lincoln's judgment and abilities did not fail, nor did his own spirits sink under such an accumulation of disappointments. Operations in the field languished for

some months, as both the British and the American armies in this department were too weak to undertake any important enterprise. But it was generally known that the English ministry contemplated a great effort to subjugate the Southern States. Congress, the Commander-in-chief, and Lincoln, all saw the impending storm, and made strenuous attempts to collect the means for repelling it. But they were feebly seconded by the state legislatures, and South Carolina especially showed great weakness and indecision in her councils.

Congress had repeatedly recommended that regiments of negroes should be formed, as they might be thoroughly disciplined, and would be formidable to the enemy from their numbers, while their presence in the field would take away one pretext advanced by the whites for not serving as militia men; namely, the necessity of remaining at home to prevent the insurrection or desertion of their slaves. This measure had come up for consideration at the meeting of the General Assembly in August of this year, and Lincoln gave leave of absence to General Moultrie and other officers of the army, who had been elected to the legislature, that they might attend the session, and vote for the passage of laws intended to secure this object, and others of equal importance.

The fate of these propositions may be learned by an extract from another of Lincoln's letters, written to the committee appointed by Congress to correspond with him on the affairs of the southern department, and dated October 22d. "I am sorry to inform you that little may be expected from this state, unless they rescind their late resolutions; for after solemn debate in the Assembly, it was resolved that the militia should not be drafted to fill up the Continental battalions; that the black troops recommended by Congress should not be raised; and that the militia, while in the field, should not be subject to the Continental articles of war. I mention these things with great reluctance, because it may seem like a reflection on the state; and I should certainly have spared the observation, could I have omitted it consistently with my duty. But you ought to know what our resources and expectations are, or you cannot provide against the worst."

That the legislature should have refused to embody and arm the slaves is, perhaps, not much to be wondered at; regiments composed of such materials would have been more formidable to their masters than to the enemy. But there is less excuse for the refusal to take the necessary measures for rendering the militia available for the public service. When

the Continental regiments could not be filled by voluntary enlistment, it was a common measure in the other states to complete them by drafts from the militia. Bitter experience had proved to Lincoln, that the militia in the field were of little use when not subjected to strict military regulations. Supineness and indifference, as to the final result of the war, can alone explain the action of the General Assembly.

It was lucky for the Carolinas, under these circumstances, that extraneous occurrences prevented the British from immediately fulfilling their intention of sending a considerable force to this quarter. They could not quite yet make up their minds to evacuate Rhode Island, where a large body of troops had been stationed for a year or two, with about as much profit to their cause as if they had been posted on the top of the Allegany Mountains. And when Sir Henry Clinton was actually preparing an expedition against South Carolina. in September of this year, Governor Dalling. of Jamaica, wrote, that he was in great apprehensions for that island, and requested immediate succor. A four months' reprieve was thus gained for Lincoln's department, which he diligently improved in increasing his resources.

It is pleasant to find, that the trust reposed by the Commander-in-chief in Lincoln's character and talents was not shaken by the untoward issue of the late expedition, nor by the magnitude of the danger which was then evidently impending over the Southern States. "I had the mortification," wrote Washington on the 12th of December, "of hearing of the ill success of the allied arms before Savannah. While I regret the misfortune, I feel a very sensible pleasure in contemplating the gallant behavior of the officers and men of the French and American army; and it adds not a little to my consolation to learn, that, instead of the mutual reproaches, which too often follow the failure of enterprises depending upon the co-operation of troops of different nations, their confidence in and esteem for each other are increased. I am happy in believing that the delicacy and propriety of your conduct, upon every occasion, have contributed much to this agreeable circumstance."

Congress acted with some energy in view of the perils which now environed Lincoln's command. The North Carolina troops had already been detached to his aid, and, with Washington's consent, the whole Virginia line was now ordered to follow them. Three of the Continental frigates were also ordered to



Charleston, in order to strengthen the port against an attack from the enemy's fleet; the town itself having natural advantages for defence, and being justly regarded as the key to the possession of the whole low country of the Carolinas. But additional troops were not all that he needed; the regiments already with him were nearly mutinous from the want of clothing and pay. Horses, fuel, and food, carriages for the artillery, and wagons for transporting supplies, ammunition and materials for new fortifications, were all to be provided with constantly decreasing means. To meet these pressing demands, and to prepare for an attack from an overwhelming force both by land and sea, was a labor which taxed to the utmost the patience, activity, and skill of the General. How strenuously he endeavored to meet the exigencies of his command is sufficiently shown by his voluminous correspondence at this period; but it is impossible to go into details upon such a subject.

To renew and extend the fortifications of Charleston was one of the first objects to be attended to; and this work was rendered difficult by an unforeseen calamity. The small-pox made its appearance in town, the first time for twenty years; and the alarm caused by its prevalence was so great, that neither



workmen nor counsellors could be kept together. Negroes, who, as Lincoln writes, "are the only laborers in this country," could not be had to work upon the lines and batteries; their masters refused to send them where they would be exposed to the disease. Active opposition was also made to measures necessary for defence, when they interfered with the pleasure or the property of individuals. It was only after repeated applications to Governor Rutledge, that Lincoln succeeded in causing certain houses to be removed, and trees to be cut down, which would shelter an enemy in front of the American lines.

Some negotiations with an agent of the Spanish Governor at Havana were added to the other calls upon Lincoln's time and attention. There was talk of a combined attempt by the Americans and Spaniards upon the British post at St. Augustine; and I find among Lincoln's papers a copy of an elaborate memoir by the Marquis de Bretigney, to show the practicability of such an enterprise. Don Juan de Miralles was the Spanish agent in this matter, though it was not certain that he was an accredited minister of the government at home; he probably derived his powers only from the Governor of Cuba. Congress, therefore, would not confer directly with him, but

informed him, through the French minister, that the American troops at the south would aid in the reduction of the Floridas, if the Spaniards would first assist them in recovering Georgia, and capturing Prevost's army, which now lay directly between Lincoln's force and those who were to coöperate with it.

The negotiation did not amount to much ; each party was too anxious to gain an object of its own to have much sympathy for its ally. The operations of the Spaniards, however, were indirectly beneficial to the American cause, as they engaged the attention of Prevost during the latter part of autumn and the beginning of winter, and thereby prevented him from attempting anything against South Carolina. General Galvez, the Governor of Louisiana, made an expedition against the British posts at Baton Rouge and Natchez, and reduced them, taking over five hundred prisoners and a large quantity of military stores.

## CHAPTER V.

*British Expedition against South Carolina. — Lincoln's Measures for Defence. — American Shipping driven up the Harbor. — The Evacuation of Charleston opposed by the civil Authorities. — Sir Henry Clinton sends a Summons to Lincoln to surrender. — Operations of the Siege. — Defeat of the American Cavalry. — Capitulation of Charleston. — Comments on Lincoln's Conduct.*

HAVING at last evacuated Newport, the British General was able to execute his long cherished design of an expedition against South Carolina. Leaving the forces at New York to be commanded by General Knyphausen, Sir Henry Clinton himself embarked with twelve regiments, a strong body of artillery, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, in a powerful fleet commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. They sailed from Sandy Hook on the 26th of December; and, as their destination was known almost to a certainty, the fact was immediately communicated by express to General Lincoln. Under ordinary circumstances, the voyage might have been made in ten days; but this time, the elements fought for the

Americans. So much tempestuous weather occurred after their departure as to excite hopes in Congress, that the fleet would be shattered and dispersed, or obliged to return without effecting anything. The Admiral persevered, however, but did not arrive at Tybee, the mouth of the Savannah, till the 30th of January. One of the transports, all their cavalry horses, and a great part of their artillery, were lost at sea. After stopping for a few days to repair damages, the fleet again sailed for the Edisto River, and on the 10th of February, the troops were landed on John's Island, of which they took possession, as well as of Stono Ferry. As they were thirty miles from Charleston, and Lincoln's force was not one third as large as theirs, no attempt was made to oppose their landing.

Clinton's movements were always marked by excessive caution, and on this occasion he certainly did not belie his character. His force amounted to at least eight thousand, and he was soon joined by General Patterson, who marched over land from Savannah to meet him, with fourteen hundred more. He had blocked up the harbor of Charleston with so large a naval force, that the Americans could not escape by sea, and if they evacuated the place by land, they would be obliged to leave

behind most of the artillery and military stores, from the want of means to transport them. Lincoln's strength is shown by the following extract from his letter, written at this time to the committee of Congress; "Our number is so small, that, had it not been required, I should not dare to mention it under our present circumstances. We have of Continental troops, including those of this state, North Carolina, and Virginia, about fourteen hundred fit for duty, and about one thousand North Carolina militia. This is all our force, and more we may not soon expect."

If Clinton had marched immediately to the town, it must have been surrendered to him within a week. But he paused to erect fortifications on the island, to secure communication with his shipping, and to establish posts at every step of his progress. His troops soon occupied James's Island, also, erected batteries there, and the boats passed along the interior navigation to Wappoo Cut, till they reached the banks of the Ashley River. The van of the army did not come up to this river till the 29th of March, having occupied nearly fifty days in advancing thirty miles. Yet no opposition was offered, except in one instance, when Tarleton's dragoons, who had procured other horses after landing, their own having

been lost at sea, were met by Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with Baylor's diminished regiment of cavalry, and driven back with some loss, Colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina loyalists, and a few others, being taken prisoners. Lee properly remarks, that this delay of Sir Henry Clinton is inexplicable, except from habit, or from a wish to induce the American General to shut himself up in Charleston.

The General Assembly broke up soon after the British landed, having delegated to "Governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." After the arrival of the enemy's fleet, Lincoln had again urged them to raise some black regiments, and to pass stringent laws for the government of the militia; but again they refused. The Governor was energetic enough, and did not hesitate to use his extraordinary powers. He ordered a general rendezvous of the militia throughout the state; but so great was the discouragement caused by the repulse before Savannah, that very few obeyed the call. Lincoln's plan was a judicious one, to draw all the Continental troops up to the town, and to leave to the country

militia the protection of the frontiers against the Indians and loyalists, and against small parties of the enemy from Georgia. The militia of Charleston and its immediate vicinity were to be added to the garrison. Moultrie was stationed at Bacon's Bridge, above Charleston Neck, with three hundred and fifty horse and about as many foot, to protect the country against small foraging parties of the British; and he maintained himself there till they were about to cross the Ashley in force, when he was obliged to retreat into the town.

The peninsula of Charleston is formed by the conflux of the Cooper and Ashley Rivers, which approach quite near each other at the neck, then widen, and meet below the town, where they form the bay, which extends out, between Sullivan's and James's Islands, to the sea. The latter island was now in possession of the enemy; on the former stood Fort Moultrie, made illustrious, in 1776, by the gallant and successful opposition which it made to the entrance of the fleet under Sir Peter Parker. Some miles beyond this fort, where the bay opens into the ocean, is a bar of sand over which the water is but three fathoms deep, and which is therefore impassable for line-of-battle ships, unless they are lightened by taking out their guns. The Continental

frigates had arrived from the north, and the naval force in the harbor, commanded by Commodore Whipple, consisted of nine vessels, the largest of which, the *Bricole*, was pierced for forty-four guns, though not half that number were mounted, while the smallest, the *Notre Dame*, carried sixteen guns.

It had been supposed, that these vessels might be anchored just within the bar, where their fire might prevent the enemy's fleet from entering, as their larger ships would need to be disarmed. This was a point of capital importance; for Lincoln had already given his opinion, that the safety of the town depended on reducing the enemy's attempts upon it to a land attack. Greatly to his surprise, it was discovered, in February, that the ships could not anchor, as was first expected; that, during an easterly wind and a flood tide, they could not safely be moored athwart the channel, with their broadsides to the bar; and that from the bar to Five Fathom Hole, three miles nearer the town, there were but eleven feet of water at low tide, so that the vessels could not remain at anchor any where within three miles of the entrance of the harbor. If stationed at Five Fathom Hole, a fleet entering with wind and tide in its favor might pass them at their anchorage, and, getting between the ships and



the town, oblige the whole squadron to surrender.

This was so serious a disappointment, that Lincoln would not credit the fact, though vouched by all the captains of the vessels, till he had himself spent two days in a boat in examining the channel. The next plan was to station the squadron in a range with Fort Moultrie, much nearer the town, and where, aided by the artillery from the shore, it was thought that they could stop the progress of the enemy's ships. An attempt was made to obstruct the channel at this point ; but, owing to the depth of water and the rapidity of the tide, this was found to be impracticable. On the 20th of March, a sixty-four gun ship and some frigates passed the bar without injury ; and the force that soon followed them was so great, that it became doubtful whether even the position near Fort Moultrie could be maintained. Whipple and all his captains represented to Lincoln, that, if the enemy, with a leading wind, should succeed in passing the fort and the ships without being much injured, they would then anchor to leeward of the American squadron, and effectually cut off its retreat to Charleston. The opinion of all the naval men was held to be decisive on this point, though there appears to be good reason

to doubt its correctness. The fact was, Whipple and his subordinates did not choose to risk an encounter with a squadron much superior in strength to their own, even though they were to be aided by the guns from the fort. They therefore represented the difficulties of their position so strongly, as to oblige Lincoln to order the vessels up to town, and to station them out of harm's way in the Cooper River. Eleven vessels were sunk at the mouth of this river, so as effectually to bar up its entrance against the British Admiral; and, the armed ships being of no further use, their crews and guns were landed and applied to the defence of the town, which now relied for safety solely on the strength of the works and the valor of its garrison.

Colonel Charles C. Pinckney was left in command of Fort Moultrie, with a garrison sufficient to man the guns, and with orders to damage the enemy's fleet as much as possible on their passing by, if he could not succeed in stopping them altogether. On the 9th of April, having a strong wind in his favor, Admiral Arbuthnot made the attempt, and succeeded in running past the fort, though an incessant fire was kept up from it, without having a single ship disabled, and with only twenty-seven men killed or wounded. The

English ships anchored about half way between the fort and the town, out of reach of the guns from either place. The post on Sullivan's Island having lost all importance by this event, Colonel Pinckney, with all the regulars in its garrison, was soon afterwards withdrawn to Charleston. A few of the militia were left, to make the passage troublesome for single ships of the enemy; but they subsequently surrendered without firing a gun.

Military critics have often declared, that Lincoln ought to have evacuated the town immediately after losing command of the harbor, for the place was no longer tenable. The reason why he did not is to be found in the dispositions of the civil authorities and the inhabitants of Charleston. On the 21st of April, a council of war was held to consider the propriety of such a measure; and in the official report of its decision, signed by Moultrie and all the other generals in town, the first of the four reasons assigned against an evacuation is, that "the civil authority is utterly averse to it, and intimated in council, that, if it was attempted, they would counteract the measure." Five days afterwards, another council was held for the same purpose, and the result may be quoted from Moultrie's *Memoirs*. "When the citizens were in-

formed upon what the council were deliberating," he says, "some of them came into council and expressed themselves very warmly, and declared to General Lincoln, if he attempted to withdraw the troops and leave the citizens, that they would cut up his boats, and open the gates to the enemy. This put a stop to all thoughts of an evacuation by the troops, and nothing was left for us but to make the best terms we could." The capture of the town, it was foreseen, would lead to the subjection of the whole state. The refusal of their former offer of neutrality during the war made the inhabitants suppose, that they could effect no compromise with the British; and they had suffered so dreadfully in the loss of slaves and other property during the incursion of Prevost, the year before, that ruin and beggary seemed to stare them in the face as the sure consequences of giving up the town. As long as the troops were with them, it was believed that terms could be obtained from the besiegers, which would secure immunity to the citizens.

I go back now to an account of the operations by land from the beginning of the siege, having digressed only to be able to give this narrative intelligibly, and without interruption. Sir Henry Clinton made his ap-

proaches so slowly, that there was ample time to complete the fortifications on Charleston Neck. Impervious swamps line the shores of the Cooper and Ashley Rivers, so that the space to be covered by intrenchments was comparatively narrow. Lines and redoubts were extended across the whole opening, and made particularly strong on each flank, where they were a little advanced, so as to enfilade the ground over which the assailants would be obliged to pass. In front, a canal was cut from swamp to swamp, beyond which were deeply laid abatis in two rows, strengthened by a double picketed ditch. Between the canal and the lines, holes were dug in the ground to break the order of the advancing columns, and in the centre was an enclosed horn-work of masonry. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable, and batteries were constructed on the harbor side, to hinder the approach of the enemy's shipping.

As there were not negroes enough to complete these extensive intrenchments within the required time, and Lincoln wished to remove the common southern prejudice against manual labor, he invariably rode out himself, at break of day, to the works, as long as they were in progress, and remained there till night, often

handling the spade and pickaxe, and performing the ordinary fatigue duty of a common soldier. Shamed into activity by his example, the troops and the inhabitants worked with vigor, and the designs of the engineers were completed before the enemy appeared to test their strength. Eighty pieces of artillery and mortars were mounted on the batteries, and, as ammunition was abundant, the town was evidently secured against immediate assault, and could be approached only by the regular operations of a siege.

The British appeared before the lines early in April, and began their first parallel at the distance of eleven hundred yards. This was completed on the 10th, and Clinton and Arbuthnot then summoned the town to surrender, in a more lofty tone than circumstances appeared to justify. Lincoln's answer was prompt and decisive, and the British historian interprets it as conveying an implied reflection on the tardiness of the enemy in making their approaches. "Sixty days have passed since it has been known, that your intentions against this town were hostile ; in which, time has been offered to abandon it ; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity." The batteries on both sides were immediately opened, and an

almost incessant fire was kept up from this time till the end of the siege. On the same day, General Woodford entered Charleston with seven hundred Virginians of the line, so that the garrison now consisted of about two thousand Continentals, and nearly an equal number of militia and sailors.

Lincoln's communication with the country was kept up by boats passing to the east side of the Cooper River, as the British had not yet established themselves on its left bank. To secure this opening for reinforcements, the Americans now began to throw up works at Lempriere's and Haddrell's Points, on opposite sides of the peninsula, which this river forms with the bay. As the cavalry would be of no use in a besieged town, Lincoln ordered it to take post at Monk's Corner, thirty miles up the river, as a further protection for this gate of egress towards the north. Governor Rutledge, with the State Council, had desired to remain in the town, and share its fate; but on the General's earnest representation, that he could be of more service in the country, he retired with half of the Council, and devoted himself to forming two camps of militia on and near the Santee, and to forwarding supplies for the garrison. The other half of the Council, with Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden,



remained in Charleston, to give the garrison all possible aid from the civil authority. Hope had been entertained, that succor would arrive from the Havana; for, agreeably to the instructions of Congress, Lincoln had despatched Colonel John Laurens thither in a swift sailing vessel, early in February, with a pressing request that a Spanish army and fleet might be sent to fall upon the British while they were engaged in the siege. But Laurens returned with a civil letter from the Governor of Cuba, which showed that Don Juan de Miralles had exceeded his instructions, and that positive orders from Spain regulated the disposition of their land and naval forces without regard to the enemy in Carolina.

The enemy's fire from their first parallel did some harm to the works, and destroyed a few houses in the town; but the garrison was well covered, and few lives were lost. Unfortunately, however, some women and children were killed, and this tended greatly to discourage the inhabitants. On the 15th, the second parallel was begun, and completed in a few days, when the fire of small arms became more close and deadly. The besieged pushed forward a breastwork on the left of their lines, from which the enemy were greatly annoyed by riflemen. The British General made a cap-



ital stroke on the 16th, by sending out fifteen hundred men, under Colonel Webster, to attack the American cavalry at Monk's Corner. The van of this party, composed of Tarleton's legion, being led by a negro through unfrequented paths to the rear of our position, the cavalry were entirely taken by surprise, though at noonday, and could offer hardly any resistance. About twenty-five were killed or wounded, and the others were dispersed and obliged to conceal themselves for some days in the swamps. As a strong reinforcement to the enemy arrived about this time from New York, they were able to send a large detachment into the peninsula on the other side of the Cooper River, and thus greatly to obstruct, if not to close, the only communication with the country.

It was now evident that the town must soon fall, if some unexpected aid did not appear. Of the two thousand militia, besides five hundred volunteers, which had been promised from North Carolina, only three hundred had arrived; and a message came, that only three hundred more could be expected. Provisions began to fail, as only ten days' rations of meat remained in store. Private houses were searched for an additional supply, but what was found hardly sufficed for the support of the families.

Under these circumstances, Lincoln proposed a truce of six hours on the 21st, which being granted, an offer was made to surrender the town on condition that the garrison should be allowed to march out with all the honors of war, to pass to the east side of Cooper River, with all their artillery, ammunition, and stores, and to have ten days allowed them for a retreat, before the British troops should commence a pursuit. All the militia were to be permitted to return to their homes without being considered prisoners of war, and the American ships were to put to sea without molestation. This offer must have been made only to gain time, or to ascertain the views of the British General; for it was evidently inadmissible. Sir Henry Clinton at once rejected it, and hostilities began anew.

A council was now held to consider the possibility of drawing off the garrison in spite of the enemy's refusal; and it was decided, almost unanimously, that the measure was impracticable, not only for the reason already mentioned, the earnest opposition of the civil authority and the inhabitants, but because the retreat must be made in the face of a much superior force, by passing a river three miles broad, in boats and vessels, which would be governed in their movements by the winds

and tide. Nothing remained, therefore, but to protract the defence to the last moment, in the hope that some such contingency as had happened to Lincoln himself before Savannah might oblige the British forces to withdraw, or to risk an assault before their trenchés were advanced to the American lines.

On the 23d, the enemy began their third parallel within twenty yards of the canal. To prevent them from making too rapid progress, a sortie was attempted the next day, being the only one that was made during the siege. At daybreak, Colonel Henderson sallied with a party of three hundred Continentals, and, trusting only to the bayonet, drove in the enemy's guards, and killed fifteen of them, besides bringing off twelve prisoners. But the British covering party came up so quickly, that there was no time to spike their cannon, or injure their works, before a retreat became indispensable. The cannonade and bombardment were continued with great fury; but so cautiously and systematically were the approaches pursued, that there was no great loss of life on either side, considering the large numbers that were engaged. General Du Portail arrived in town, having been sent by Washington to take the principal charge of the engineer department; and, after looking at

the British position, and at our works, he immediately declared that the latter were untenable, and that the enemy might have taken the place ten days before. When he ascertained, therefore, that an evacuation was decided to be impracticable, he wished immediately to leave the garrison, to avoid becoming a prisoner of war ; but Lincoln would not permit this, fearing that his departure would discourage the troops.

Lord Cornwallis now took command of the party on the east side of the Cooper River, and the operations there were consequently prosecuted with more energy. He moved a detachment down to Haddrell's Point, and, as the post there was guarded only by a small party from Fort Moultrie, it was evacuated on the enemy's approach. The British established themselves at this point, and, as the fort on Sullivan's Island also fell into their hands after most of the garrison had been withdrawn, the American station at Lempriere's became much exposed. At Lincoln's order, therefore, the troops retreated across the river in the night to Charleston, after spiking four eighteen pounders, that they were obliged to leave. The investiture of the town was thus completed, and all hope of succor from without was soon dispelled by the dispersion of the

feeble remnant of American cavalry on the Santee.

After the surprise at Monk's Corner, Colonel White had taken the command of them, and withdrawn them to the north of this river, where he lay waiting for an opportunity to strike at the enemy's foraging parties. An occasion soon offered, and he again crossed the Santee, came up with the enemy, captured most of them, and prepared to fall back with his prisoners to a place of safety. He sent to Colonel Bufort, who commanded some Virginia troops at the ferry on the north side of the river, and asked for boats to transport his party to the other shore. There was some delay either in sending the message, or executing the order, which enabled the indefatigable Tarleton, who was in pursuit, to overtake White on the southern bank. The enemy's charge was successful; about forty of the Americans were killed or captured, and the remainder only saved themselves by hiding in the swamps, or swimming the river.

It was now evident that the defence of Charleston was continued only to save the honor of the garrison, and to obtain favorable terms of surrender. As the third parallel was now completed, and the parties were brought very near each other, the garrison placed sand-

bags on their lines, leaving a narrow space between them, through which the sharpshooters fired with considerable effect. The enemy immediately followed this example; the rattle of small arms became incessant, and not a head appeared above the lines on either side without instantly becoming a mark for many bullets. All night the roar of artillery was continued; the shells from the howitzers fell thick, and the troops on the lines were constantly jumping about to avoid the effects of their explosion. The besiegers had pushed their works to the brink of the canal, which, by a sap to the dam, was drained. A double sap was carried from this first barrier, under the abatis, to within thirty steps of the principal works. It remained only to give orders for the assault, which, from the fatigued and dispirited state of the garrison, could hardly fail to be successful. But so determined was the British commander to risk nothing, that what was meant to be the final summons was not sent till the 8th of May.

In his letter to Lincoln on this occasion, Sir Henry Clinton enumerated the circumstances, which seemed to prove that further resistance was desperate, and added, "By this last summons, therefore, I throw to your charge whatever vindictive severity exasperated sol-

diers may inflict on the unhappy people, whom you devote by persevering in a fruitless defence." An answer was returned, asking for a truce to continue till the next day at four o'clock, in order to give time for the arrangement of terms; and this request was granted. While the flags were passing, the militia looked upon the business as settled, and without orders took up their baggage, and walked into town, leaving the lines quite defenceless. A council of war was summoned, and it decided that a surrender was inevitable, the business of arranging the articles of capitulation being left, of course, with the commanding officer.

Lincoln offered substantially the same terms that were afterwards accepted, but with these two provisions, obviously required by those whose welfare they affected; that the militia should be allowed to return to their several homes, and not be considered as prisoners of war; and that the citizens and all inhabitants of the state should be protected in their lives and properties, and twelve months be allowed to those who did not choose to remain under British rule to dispose of or remove their effects, and meanwhile that they should be permitted to reside either in the town or country. But these articles were destructive of the very object, which the enemy had chiefly in



view in undertaking this expedition against Charleston; namely, the entire subjugation of the state, and the reunion of it to the other dominions of the British crown. Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, positively refused them, and announced that hostilities would recommence at eight o'clock on the evening of the 9th.

"After receiving his letter," says Moultrie, "we remained near an hour silent, all calm and ready, each waiting for the other to begin. At length, we fired the first gun, and immediately followed a tremendous cannonade, and the mortars from both sides threw out an immense number of shells. It was a glorious sight to see them, like meteors, crossing each other, and bursting in the air; it appeared as if the stars were tumbling down. The fire was incessant almost the whole night, cannon balls whizzing and shells hissing continually among us, ammunition chests and temporary magazines blowing up, great guns bursting and wounded men groaning along the lines. It was a dreadful night! It was our last great effort, but it availed us nothing. After it, our military ardor was much abated, and we began to cool."

This terrible scene continued for two days, when the General received addresses, numerous signed, from the principal inhabitants of



the town, and from the country militia, signifying that the terms already offered by the enemy were satisfactory, and desiring that they might be accepted, while the Lieutenant-Governor and Council also asked that the negotiations might be renewed. Then, says Lincoln, "the militia of the town having thrown down their arms; our provisions, saving a little rice, being exhausted; the troops on the line being worn down by fatigue, having for a number of days been obliged to lie upon the banquette; our harbor closely blocked up; completely invested by at least nine thousand men, the flower of the British army, besides the large force they could at all times draw from their marine, and aided by a large number of blacks in all their laborious employments; the garrison at this time, exclusive of sailors, but little exceeding twenty-five hundred men, part of whom had thrown down their arms; the citizens in general discontented; the enemy being within twenty yards of our lines, and preparing to make a general assault by sea and land; many of our cannon being dismounted, and others silenced for want of shot; a retreat being judged impracticable, and every hope of timely succor cut off, we were induced to accede to the terms already proffered." Sir Henry Clinton answered Lin-

coln's letter of the 11th by saying, that, after the negotiation had been broken off three days before, "both the Admiral and myself were of opinion, that the surrender of the town at discretion was the only condition that should afterwards be attended to; but as the motives which then governed us are still prevalent, I now inform you that the terms then offered will still be granted."

Clemency and mildness, indeed, then formed the policy of the British, as they looked to a complete restoration of the royal authority in the state by the consent of the inhabitants. This motive probably induced the long postponement of the assault, as Clinton did not wish to exasperate the people by the inevitable horrors of a town taken by storm. Articles of capitulation were accordingly drawn up and ratified on the 12th, and on that day a detachment of British troops took possession of the Charleston lines. The town, the shipping at the wharves, and all the artillery and public stores, were surrendered. Of the garrison, the Continental troops and the sailors were to remain prisoners of war till exchanged; the militia were to return to their homes as prisoners on parole, and their property was to be respected as long as they observed their parole. The officers were to retain their side arms,

and their baggage was not to be searched. The garrison was to march out to a place between the works and the canal, and there deposit their arms; the drums were not to beat a British march, nor were the colors to be uncased. All civil officers, all citizens who had borne arms during the siege, and all other persons in town not specially excepted, were ranked with the militia, and considered as prisoners on parole.

The loss of life on either side had not been great. Of the Continentals and the Charleston militia artillery, who manned the lines, ninety-two were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded; about twenty of the inhabitants were killed in their houses. The militia and sailors stationed in the batteries suffered little. The loss of the besiegers was stated at seventy-six killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. The return of prisoners, according to the British statement, exceeded five thousand; but this included the sailors and all the adult male inhabitants of the town. The garrison properly consisted of about two thousand Continentals, one fourth of whom were in the hospitals, and five hundred country militia.

The loss of men and stores by the capture of Charleston, though somewhat exaggerated

at first, was really a severe blow to the American cause, and it excited the gloomiest apprehensions for the issue of the contest. But the bravery and skill, with which the garrison had maintained their protracted defence, were generally acknowledged on both sides, and Lincoln suffered no diminution of the respect and confidence, which had been so generally manifested towards him by the army and its Commander-in-chief, by Congress and the country at large. In this respect, his fate was very different from that which subsequently befell Gates, his successor in command, who lost in one day at Camden all the laurels that he had gathered at Saratoga. Placed in a most difficult and responsible station, surrounded by conflicting interests and incompatible tempers, struggling constantly against a hostile force, which, in all the real elements of strength, was much superior to his own, he still kept up the contest, till he had drawn against him the enemy's Commander-in-chief, and the greater part of their troops in America, and finally laid down his arms only when longer resistance would have been criminal and useless. In the whole of his voluminous correspondence during his command at the south, I find not one letter in which he is addressed in the language of reproach or complaint for his per-

sonal conduct. No charge, not even an insinuation, of injustice, partiality, neglect, or incompetency, seems ever to have been directed against him. It may well be doubted whether there was another general officer in the army, who could have preserved this immunity under equally trying circumstances.

The only criticism that has been made by the historians and military critics of a later day, upon his conduct of the southern army, relates to his not attempting to evacuate Charleston after the defence of it had become hopeless, and before it was entirely invested by the enemy. The reasons why he did not attempt this measure have now been pretty fully explained; and there can be but one answer to them, that he ought to have drawn off the troops in spite of the opposition made by the civil authorities and the people. Thus, Colonel Lee, in his "Memoirs of the War," says that "General Lincoln no more ought to have been influenced by the remonstrances of the citizens of Charleston, when weighing in his mind the propriety of evacuation, than a tender father ought to regard the crying of his child on his administering a dose of physic to save its life."

This remark would be just, if the garrison had consisted of a compact and homogeneous

body of troops, entirely under the General's control. But it must be remembered, that full half of Lincoln's force consisted of the very militia and citizens who made these remonstrances; that they were more entirely subject to the civil authorities than to him; that they would not themselves budge a foot; and they intimated very plainly that they would oppose the departure of the regular troops even by force. Even the Continental regiments were from the Southern States, most of them from South Carolina itself, and both officers and men shared the general belief, that, if Charleston was lost, all was lost, and any further opposition to the enemy in this department would be hopeless. What chances were there of making a successful retreat with a feeble and dispirited remnant of troops in this frame of mind, counteracted by the civil authorities, violently opposed by the militia, compelled to leave behind all baggage and military stores from the want of wagons to transport them, obliged to pass in boats a river three miles broad, and then having not more than one day's start of a fresh and vigorous enemy, who outnumbered them five to one? No one would have advocated leaving the city before the enemy's ships had passed the bar; for that would have been to surrender without a struggle the

shipping, artillery, and military stores, before there was any urgent necessity for such a sacrifice, and while the hope was yet good that the promised reinforcements would soon swell the garrison to more than nine thousand men.

The political reasons against an evacuation were even stronger than those of a military nature. South Carolina was trembling in the balance, and a feather's weight might have separated her from the Union, and inclined her wholly in favor of British authority. Besides the great number of disaffected inhabitants, among the most patriotic persons loud complaints were common, that Congress neglected this department, and that they must begin to seek safety for themselves. At such a period, if Lincoln had come to a total breach with the state government, and had withdrawn the whole Continental army in spite of their earnest remonstrances, leaving them to surrender at discretion, there is little doubt that the popular leaders would have patched up a reconciliation with England, or obtained permission to remain neutral during the remainder of the war. As it was, Lincoln lost an army; but his politic conduct and protracted defence were the means of saving a state.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Measures taken for Lincoln's Exchange. — He rejoins Washington's Army. — Operations against New York. — Siege of Yorktown. — Lincoln is appointed Secretary of War. — Duties of his Office. — Discontent in the Army. — Declaration of Peace. — Lincoln's Situation and Employments after the War. — His published Writings.*

SIR HENRY CLINTON allowed the captured General, with his suite, to return to Philadelphia on parole, in the vessel which carried his despatches, and to reside in that city, or with his family in Hingham, till he was exchanged. But the departure of the vessel was delayed on various pretences till the 20th of June, so that Lincoln was not able to appear before Congress till July. He then formally requested that a court of inquiry should be held concerning the loss of Charleston, and his own conduct generally while commanding at the south. The request was complied with, and the Commander-in-chief was directed to institute such a court. But Washington answered, that the circumstances of the campaign did not permit him to employ a number of offi-



cers high in rank for such a purpose ; that the investigation could not be made in a satisfactory manner till the persons now in the hands of the enemy at the south had returned to the army ; and that, at any rate, such an inquiry would be improper while Lincoln himself was still a prisoner on parole. For these reasons, the matter was delayed for the present ; and as no one thought proper to revive it afterwards, it was soon forgotten. The inquiry would have been merely a formal one, as no complaint was made by any person, and in fact all parties were fully satisfied with Lincoln's conduct. Colonel Lee's remark is perfectly just ; " So established was the spotless reputation of the vanquished General, that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of Congress, the army, and the Commander-in-chief."

After remaining a week or two at Philadelphia, Lincoln returned to his family at Hingham, from whom he had now been separated for nearly four years. His friends in Massachusetts greeted him warmly, and showed him every mark of respect and sympathy for his misfortunes. But for the galling idea, that he was still a prisoner, and subject at any time to the requisition of the British General, he might have keenly enjoyed this respite from

the risks and hardships of actual service. Yet he could not remain quiet with honor in such a situation, and he made strenuous exertions to obtain his freedom by exchange. Washington labored to promote this object, and offered to return for him either General Phillips or General Riedesel, who had been captured at Saratoga. But difficulties were created by Sir Henry Clinton, who wished to involve Lincoln's exchange with that of the southern army, and to make the one depend on the other.

In the hope of expediting the affair, Lincoln had opened a correspondence with General Phillips, and now asked permission to meet him at Elizabethtown, in order that some plan acceptable to both parties might be struck out in a conference. Washington consented, and the interview took place on the 19th of September; but it had no immediate result, as Lincoln was authorized to negotiate only for his own liberation, while Phillips had full powers to treat for a general exchange, but for no other.

Meanwhile, Lincoln's position and his known kindness of heart induced several British officers, who had long been in captivity, and whose private affairs, in consequence, were reduced to a ruinous state, to apply to him to

use his influence for their liberation by special exchange. The letters of some of them contain very affecting accounts of the distresses to which their families had been subjected by their long imprisonment. Lincoln made active efforts in their behalf, which, in many cases, were successful; and their letters to him, especially those of Colonel Macpherson and Captain Ross, express their gratitude in the warmest terms. It is not unlikely that the good will thus conciliated towards him, among the officers of the British army, did much to hasten his own release, which was finally effected by exchange for General Phillips, early in November. About one hundred and forty American officers, and all the privates who were prisoners in New York, were liberated at the same time, the question about the release of the rank and file of the southern army being postponed.

Washington congratulated Lincoln upon his exchange in a letter written on the 8th, but added, "I do not mean by this notice to hasten your return to the army, for that, alas! is upon the eve of its annual dissolution, and consequently of the enemy's advantages. I am of opinion that your influence and exertions in procuring the state's quota of troops for the war, providing funds for the subsistence

of them, and magazines, will be of infinitely more importance in your own state this winter, than it can be to become a mere spectator of the hunger and cold, or a fellow-sufferer from the scantiness of provision and clothing, which I expect the small remains of our army will have to encounter in a very short time, and more than probably to contend with during the winter."

In accordance with this hint, Lincoln remained in Massachusetts during the winter and spring, actively engaged in measures for raising recruits and supplies. At his suggestion, two places of rendezvous were established, one at Castle Island, in Boston harbor, for the eastern, and one at Springfield, for the western counties. Depots of provisions were established at suitable intermediate places, in order that bands of recruits passing to the rendezvous might not be compelled to rob and plunder for food. From his active and methodical habits, Lincoln was admirably qualified for this business of detail, while his weight of character and influence caused all his suggestions to be treated with great respect by the Governor and legislature.

Late in January, Colonel John Laurens arrived in Boston, to take passage there in the frigate *Alliance*, on his important mission to

France. But great embarrassment arose from the difficulty of completing the crew of the vessel; as men would not enlist, the legislature declined giving a power to impress, and on the mere rumor that this expedient of force was to be adopted, the sailors had left town, or concealed themselves. The state offered a high bounty, and permitted its own troops, who were on duty at the Castle, to enlist; and still little progress was made in supplying the deficiency. At last, General Lincoln detached a sufficient number, who were qualified for naval service, from the Continental troops, and embarked them in the frigate, which then put to sea. There was no warrant for this proceeding; but the emergency was so great, that the General's course was highly approved by Washington.

In June, 1781, Lincoln's services were needed in camp, and he accordingly left Boston and proceeded to head-quarters, which were then at New Windsor, where he took command of a division of the army. Soon after he arrived, the French troops, under Rochambeau, joined the Americans; and as De Grasse was expected to be soon on the coast with a strong fleet, a combined enterprise was projected against the enemy in New York. As a preliminary step, Washington marched the

army from its winter quarters, near Peekskill, to Kingsbridge, while Lincoln, with his division, passed down the river in boats, and occupied the ground where Fort Independence once stood. It was a familiar spot to him, having been his scene of operations four years before; and for this reason, probably, he had been chosen to conduct the advance of the army. He had eight hundred men with him, and had moved one day before the main body of the troops, the object being to favor an attempt, made by Lauzun's legion, and the Connecticut men, under General Waterbury, to cut off Delancey's corps of refugees at Morrisania. He had reconnoitred the enemy's works from Fort Lee the day before, with a view either to attack them by surprise, if the prospect were favorable, or to wait and act only in union with the detachment on his left.

The 3d of July was the day fixed for Lauzun's attack upon Delancey; and if he had come up in season, he might have driven back the refugees, who would have found unexpectedly that Lincoln's troops barred up their retreat, so that they must have been captured. Unluckily, the fatigue of the men and the length of the march prevented Lauzun and Waterbury from arriving at the appointed time. Delancey's corps heard the firing against Lin-

coln, and saved themselves by a rapid retreat to the island; only a few stragglers being overtaken by the French and Americans. Lincoln's party had been attacked by a superior force, consisting of the Hessian Yagers and some British troops; and, according to orders, he continued to skirmish with them, falling back slowly, so as to draw them up into the country, and allow Lauzun's legion to turn their right, and prevent them from repassing the Haerlem River. But as soon as they descried Washington's army, which was now coming up from Valentine's Hill, they hastily retreated, and took shelter on York Island. In this skirmish, General Lincoln had five or six men killed, and about thirty wounded. After this affair, the whole army of the allies encamped between Dobbs's Ferry and the River Brunx.

Washington remained in this position more than a month, observing the enemy's movements on the island, and taking care to prevent them from making any incursions beyond it. For the latter purpose, five thousand men were moved forward on the 21st, Lincoln commanding one division of them, as far as Kingsbridge, a portion of them being ordered to scour Morrisania and Frog's Neck. A few refugees were taken, and the General was en-



abled to reconnoitre near at hand the enemy's forts on York Island. They were found to be formidable in character, and apparently garrisoned with a sufficient number of troops to make an assault upon them very hazardous.

All these movements had an ulterior object, being intended partly as a feint, to alarm Sir Henry Clinton for his own safety, and prevent him from succoring Cornwallis, and partly as preliminary steps for a real siege of the enemy in New York, if De Grasse should arrive at Sandy Hook, and if recruits and supplies should be furnished by the states in sufficient number and quantity to justify so difficult an enterprise. The former purpose was answered ; but the arrival of a strong reinforcement of Hessians in New York, on the 11th of August, and the news that the French fleet had sailed for the Chesapeake, determined Washington to give up all thoughts of an attack on the island, and to turn his arms against Cornwallis.

General Lincoln had the immediate command of the American army in its progress southward, which commenced on the 22d. He led the troops by way of Chatham, Springfield, and Brunswick, in order to keep up an appearance of threatening Staten Island as long as possible ; and, in fact, the British General did not divine the intentions of his opponents till



they had crossed the Delaware. Lincoln arrived with the troops, on the 4th of September, at Elkton, the head of navigation on the Chesapeake, where he congratulated them, in general orders, on the despatch, good order, and regularity that they had shown, and on the cheerfulness with which they had borne the fatigue of so long a march. About half of the army was embarked here, with most of the artillery and heavy stores; and the remainder were marched to Baltimore, where they also took ship; and both divisions soon joined the troops under St. Simon and Lafayette at Williamsburg.

It is not necessary to repeat here so familiar a story as that of the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis. Lincoln had his full share in all the operations of the army, as the senior of the American Major-Generals on the ground, and was publicly thanked, in connection with Lafayette and Steuben, in Washington's general orders of the 20th of October. The event was matter of great rejoicing to all; but it was particularly soothing to his feelings, as Lord Cornwallis was obliged to accept precisely the same terms of capitulation, that he had aided in imposing upon Lincoln, more than a year before, at the siege of Charleston. The duty of conducting the

vanquished enemy to the field, where they were to lay down their arms, also devolved upon Lincoln; and by his arrangements the British troops were treated with the utmost delicacy and respect. This was the close of his military services at the southward, the brilliant termination of a long series of difficulties and disasters, which would have broken the spirits and enfeebled the future exertions of a man of less vigor and determination of character.

After the siege, Wayne's and Gist's brigades were detached to South Carolina, to reinforce General Greene; and Lincoln was again appointed to conduct the march of the remainder of the army to their former quarters, near the Hudson River. They were again transported in vessels over the Chesapeake Bay to the Head of Elk, whence they proceeded over land to their places of destination. While on the march, Lincoln was informed that Congress had appointed him to an office of great trust and honor, which would relieve him from immediate command in the field, while it would make him responsible, in a greater measure than before, for the conduct and support of all the American troops.

The essential incapacity of a numerous legislative body to perform the executive func-

tions of government was never more strikingly displayed than by the American Congress during the revolutionary war and under the confederation. Its councils and intentions were generally wise and patriotic; but its action was feeble, vacillating, and dilatory, clogged by cabals and local prejudices, and wholly inadequate to meet the great emergencies of the times. The frequent changes of members, the division of responsibility, the difficulty of uniting many voices in favor of any one plan when several were proposed, the clamors of conflicting interests, and the time consumed in legislative debates, were insuperable obstacles to unity of purpose or energy of execution. The most important business was divided at first among several committees, one being appointed for finance, another for war, and a third for foreign affairs. As usual in such cases, all the work was really done by the chairman, who was rather impeded than assisted by his colleagues; and his action was constantly fettered by instructions from the whole body, or by the necessity of obtaining their sanction for his proceedings.

As time showed the defects of this plan, boards of a more permanent character, composed of persons not in Congress, were instituted in place of some of these committees;

and this was an improvement, though a partial one. As early as October, 1777, Richard Henry Lee wrote, "The business of a Board of War is so extensive, so important, and demanding such constant attention, that Congress see clearly the necessity of constituting a new board, out of Congress, whose time shall be entirely devoted to that essential department." This measure was soon carried into effect, five members being chosen to the board, with a salary of two thousand dollars a year each, and General Gates was appointed its president.

But experience soon showed, that an executive department should have but one head, as a plurality of members only induces delay and indecision, and adds nothing to the wisdom or energy of the proceedings. Congress were very slow in coming to a knowledge of this truth; but they found it out at last, in 1781, after their affairs had fallen into almost inextricable confusion. In the course of this year, but not till Washington had repeatedly warned them of the evil consequences of delay, they appointed Mr. Livingston Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Robert Morris Secretary of Finance, General McDougal Secretary of Marine, and finally, on the 30th of October, General Lincoln Secretary of War. The salary attached to the office was four thousand dollars a year.

Generals Greene, Sullivan, and Knox were the other candidates, and the appointment had been long postponed from the difficulty of making an election among them. Lincoln was allowed to retain his rank in the army, though his salary as secretary took the place of his pay as a major-general.

In this office, which made him the medium of communication between the army and the states, acting both in their separate and their joint capacity, General Lincoln remained till the close of the war. Major, W. Jackson, who had been his faithful and attached aid-de-camp for many years, was appointed assistant secretary, and several clerks were added to perform the subordinate duties of the station. All commissions to army officers were issued from this office, and all disputes with regard to relative rank, as well as all claims for pay, were to be adjusted here, or referred for final decision to Congress. To make estimates of the supplies and the number of recruits needed for the approaching campaign, to direct the manner in which these should be forwarded to the army, and to correspond with the state authorities upon the subject, were among the other onerous and important duties attached to this post. It was a business of detail, which required the utmost care, diligence, and tact to

conduct it successfully. General Lincoln was admirably fitted for it by his industrious and methodical habits, his native kindness of disposition, and his great popularity in the army, and with the country at large.

The resources of the people had been taxed to the utmost by the long continuance of the war, and they now seemed to be sinking into a state of languor, exhaustion, and indifference. The sufferings of the troops, from the want not merely of pay, but of the common necessities of life, had become intolerable; and a spirit of discontent was gaining ground among them, which menaced the very existence of the republic. To rouse the states from their lethargy, and to inspire the members of the army with new patience and fortitude, while he was making the most strenuous exertions for their relief, were the hard tasks imposed on the new Secretary of War, which he discharged with characteristic fidelity and zeal.

As he was much esteemed and beloved by his brother officers, they unburdened to him, with great freedom, both their public and private griefs; and nothing could surpass the kindness and discretion with which he labored to soothe their irritated and often wayward feelings. The extent of his labors can be known only by inspecting the great mass of

his correspondence at this period. As they related to a multitude of particulars, often of a very complex and intricate character, only this general description of them can be given here.

Soon after his appointment, it became the duty of the Secretary to present to the Commander-in-chief two of the enemy's standards taken at Yorktown, which had been assigned to him by Congress. The following is an extract from Washington's reply to his letter, written on this occasion; "You have enhanced the value of the trophies, with which Congress have been pleased to honor me in their resolve of the 29th of October, by the polite and affectionate manner of presenting them. When I consider how much I am indebted for this singular mark of public esteem to the exertions of the Generals, and indeed of all the other officers who accompanied me to that field of glory to the allied armies, I feel a sensation of gratitude which I cannot express. Believe me sincere, when I assure you, that I hold myself under very particular obligations for your able and friendly counsel in the cabinet and vigor in the field."

The month of February, 1782, General Lincoln passed in Boston and its vicinity, both for the purpose of visiting his family, and of attending to the receipt of ammunition and



military stores, which were expected at that port from abroad, as supplies for the next campaign. For the remainder of the year, the duties of his office obliged him to be constantly in the place where Congress was in session. An intricate subject was referred to him in the spring and summer of this year, which it was impossible to adjust to the satisfaction of all parties. As the states had failed to furnish the men required of them for the army, many regiments and corps had dwindled away till they were now composed almost exclusively of officers, so that they caused a great expense to the country, while they were productive of no benefit. Congress proposed to reduce them; but this was a hard measure for the officers, who had committed no fault, had given their best years to their country, to the ruin of their other employments, and were now to be sent home penniless, while large arrears of pay were still due to them. It was a delicate task, also, to make the selection, and decide who were to be retained while the others were discharged. In fact, the difficulties of the case proved to be so great, that very little progress was made in the reduction of the army on this account. Other and more serious difficulties with the officers were at hand.

The alarming discontents which prevailed in



the army in the autumn of 1782, threatening the country with all the horrors of a civil war, are familiarly known. The near prospect of peace induced the officers to reflect much, not only on the hardships of their present situation, but on the gloomy prospect before them. "The evils of which they complain," wrote Washington to Lincoln, "and which they suppose almost remediless, are the total want of money, or the means of existence from one day to another, the heavy debts they have already incurred, the loss of credit, the distress of their families at home, and the prospect of poverty and misery before them." While in the field, he thought, this discontent might be prevented from breaking out into acts of outrage; "but when we retire into winter quarters, unless the storm is previously dissipated, I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences." If Washington had cherished the designs of a Cromwell or a Bonaparte, he would have known very well to what end this disposition of the officers might be directed. Such was the state of the country at this period, that, if he had willed it, the revolutionary war might have ended in the establishment of a military despotism, or in a long intestine struggle, which might have disposed the people to seek relief at last by returning

to their allegiance to the British crown. The appearance of the Newburg Letters soon afterwards, the design of which, we can hardly doubt, was to urge the army to an attempt to redress their grievances by force, brought matters to a crisis, and fairly frightened Congress into the adoption of measures which partially satisfied the irritated soldiery.

The personal friendships and official position of Lincoln caused many communications to be addressed to him, which show the magnitude of the crisis. General Knox was perhaps his most intimate friend in the army, and he wrote repeatedly, and at much length, discussing the nature of the complaints, and their remedy, and expressing his alarm in no measured terms. He wrote as follows, on the 12th of March, 1783; "I wrote you on the 3d instant, and mentioned that the officers were waiting impatiently for the result of General McDougal's mission. That impatience is almost heightened into despair. Papers have been distributed by unknown persons, calling the body of the officers together yesterday in the new building, accompanied by an address calculated to rouse them to redress their own grievances. The Commander-in-chief requested that the meeting might be postponed till next Saturday. What will be the result God only

knows. Congress ought not to lose a moment in bringing the affairs of the army to a decision. Press the matter instantly, my dear Sir, with all your might and main."

The nature of some of the impediments to granting the officers' requests will be understood by an extract from a letter, written by Lincoln to Washington some months before. "You know, Sir, that no moneys can be appropriated but by the voice of nine states. There was not that number in favor of half-pay, when the vote to grant it passed in Congress; it was a vote before the confederation was signed and practised upon, but is not now. I see little probability, that a sum equal to the half-pay will be appropriated to that purpose, and apportioned on the several states. Massachusetts is one of those states, which have always been opposed to the measure. Indeed, there is but one state east of this, which agreed to it."

The matter was at length compromised, through the great influence and prudence of Washington, by the officers agreeing to accept, in certificates of debt, or Continental securities, as they were termed, the sum due them for arrears of pay, rations, and clothing up to that time, and five years' full pay as a commutation of the half-pay for life already promised.

Yet the payment of these hardly earned securities was made a matter of popular clamor for years afterwards; and it became, as we shall see, one of the leading pretences for the Massachusetts rebellion.

In the spring of 1783, the joyful news was received, that a provisional treaty of peace with Great Britain had been signed at Paris, in which the independence of this country was acknowledged. Lincoln's feelings on this occasion, the determinations which he had formed for his own conduct, and the judicious views which he had taken of the political affairs of the country, are so well expressed in a letter which he wrote to his wife on the 10th of May, that I shall insert the greater part of it here.

"I am waiting with great impatience for the arrival of the definitive treaty of peace, having determined, when that is published, to request Congress to accept my resignation. I have fully conversed with my friends on this matter, and they know my determination. I flatter myself that I shall not be detained here longer than the 1st of July; by the middle of that month, I expect to be once more in my native town, freed from all public engagements, and master of my own time. I shall return to that domestic felicity, from which I

have been so long detained by a cruel war, which now seems happily terminating, and in a manner honorable and advantageous to America. If our country is not wanting to herself, she may soon reap the blessings which must flow therefrom, and which will compensate her for all her toil, expenses, and hardships.

“You may say, perhaps, that nothing can compensate us for the evils which we have suffered from the war. Though we might have waded through the mire of British policy with fewer evils than we have borne in the contest, yet the encroaching demands of Britain, which must have become ruinous in their consequences, would soon have overtaken your children; and I doubt not but a very thick cloud would have rested on the evening of our days. On the whole, I think we shall find ourselves most amply rewarded for all our sufferings by the establishment of an honorable peace.

“I am sorry to observe in the Boston newspapers so many virulent articles against the Tories. We are not only driving from us many men who might be very useful, but we are obliging them to people Nova Scotia, which will soon rival us in the fisheries. A great part of the soil of that country is too stubborn and too barren to give the settlers

any flattering prospects from husbandry ; they will be driven, therefore, to engage actively in fishing. Connecticut is profiting by this conduct of ours, and is receiving the very people whom we are keeping out. They are encouraging a number of merchants to settle with them, so that they will soon become a commercial state, and not only deprive us of the benefits we used to enjoy by being importers for them, but will probably be importers for that part of our state which lies contiguous to their own.

“I do not wish to see all the absentees return. Some of them could not be happy with us, or we with them ; but of this class, I think, there are but few. I should be exceedingly happy to see our next General Court take up the list of refugees, and discriminate between those who would be injurious, and those who would not, and permit the latter to return. They have already suffered much, and will always feel keenly the mischiefs consequent on their error of judgment. I doubt not that they would make good citizens, and that our receiving them would promote the interests and happiness of the state.”

Happy would it have been, not only for the interests, but the reputation of New England, if these just and humane opinions had pre-

vailed more widely at the close of the war! The almost unlimited proscription of the loyalists was at once the most unjust and the most impolitic proceeding of the founders of our independence.

It was not till October of this year, that the resolve was passed for disbanding the American army, which enabled Lincoln to resign his office of Secretary of War, and return to the enjoyments of home. Congress voted to accept his resignation "in consideration of the earnest desire which he expresses, the objects of the war being so happily accomplished, to retire to private life; and that he be informed, that the United States in Congress assembled entertain a high sense of his perseverance, fortitude, activity, and meritorious services in the field, as well as of his diligence, fidelity, and capacity in the execution of the office of Secretary of War, which important trusts he has discharged to their entire approbation."

On his return to the neighborhood of Boston, he was warmly welcomed, not only by his old friends, but by many new ones, whose regard and esteem had been drawn forth by his amiable and spotless character, and his eminent public services. But the state of his private affairs showed how great a sacrifice he had made, by devoting eight of the best years of



his life to the cause of his country. His farm in Hingham remained to him, but he was too old, and too much disabled by his wound, to return to the cultivation of it. Thrifty and prudent in his habits, he had saved a considerable sum from his pay, his salary, and the commutation money, which had been voted by Congress to all the officers of the army. But all this was necessarily vested in Continental securities ; and to part with these, at their present ruinous rate of discount in the market, would be to condemn himself to certain poverty for the remainder of his life. He wisely determined to retain them, thinking that the justice of his country could not fail, at some future time, to establish a fund, from which they would be redeemed at their par value, with interest.

Only after the adoption of the federal constitution, and the establishment of Hamilton's admirable plans of finance, was this hope realized, and full, though tardy, compensation made to many, who, like Lincoln, had rendered inestimable aid in rearing and defending the fabric of our national independence. In his case, as in many others, we see plainly the justifiable bias that was added to other motives, which induced the officers of the revolutionary army, almost without exception, to



become the firm supporters of the new constitution and of Washington's administration. The soldiers of the revolution were the first Federalists; their opponents were those who, from good or evil motives, wished to ease the weight of taxation on the people, and to rid the country of the burden of paying its debts, the price of its liberties.

Meanwhile, to obtain present occupation and support, he engaged in the purchase and settlement of wild lands in the District of Maine, a business to which he had given some attention before entering the army. He mortgaged his farm to obtain money for this purpose, but did not enter wildly into speculation with these lands, as his friend General Knox did, whose failure, many years afterwards, on this account, brought Lincoln also to the brink of pecuniary ruin, as, from motives of friendship, he had become security for him to a large amount. This enterprise caused him to make frequent journeys to the eastern part of Maine; and on this account, in 1784, and again in 1786, he was appointed one of the Massachusetts commissioners to treat with the Penobscot Indians, and receive from them certain tracts of land which had been purchased by the state.

General Lincoln kept up his intercourse with

many friends, whom he had gained in different parts of the country during his military career, by a frequent interchange of letters. He was a constant and highly valued correspondent of General Washington, who had taken, on his recommendation, Tobias Lear to be his private secretary at Mount Vernon. The letters addressed to Lincoln by Lear, and by Major W. Jackson, his former aid-de-camp and assistant secretary of war, are written in the grateful and affectionate tone of children to a father. His equable temper and paternal kindness seem, indeed, to have given him a strong hold on the affections of the younger men, who were brought in contact with him in the performance of his public duties, so that ever afterwards they sought his counsel and aid with great frankness on any emergency.

Nowhere were his friends more numerous than in South Carolina, the place where he had been most unfortunate in war. Dr. David Ramsay, the historian, who had been a member of the State Council at the time of the capitulation of Charleston, wrote often to him, in a familiar way, on the politics of the times. Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Pinckney, two wealthy inhabitants of the state, intrusted their sons to him, to be educated, under his eye, in some school in Massachusetts, and then to pass through

Harvard College, while yet under his guardianship. The letters of advice, which he wrote both to these boys and to their parents, are remarkable for sterling good sense, and the judicious views which they unfold of a liberal education.

He had an active and inquiring mind, and was so diligent in the use of time, that even the small intervals of leisure, which remained to him amid his laborious employments during the war, were conscientiously devoted to study and scientific inquiries, as means of intellectual improvement. He received several proofs of the high respect, which his contemporaries entertained for his capacity and attainments. In 1780, the honorary degree of master of arts was conferred on him by Harvard College. About the same time, he became one of the first members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was chosen into the Massachusetts Historical Society. While he was Secretary of War, he wrote very long letters to his son, containing the results of his observations on the climate, soil, productions, and natural features of the several states which he had visited, particularly at the south. Some of these were intended, it seems, to be read at the meetings of the American Academy. They contain nothing which is not now familiarly

known to every schoolboy ; but geographical science was then at so low an ebb in this country, that many of the facts mentioned were probably new to most persons at the north, and some of the speculations that accompany them are ingenious and interesting. His experience as a farmer had inspired him with a hearty love of trees, and some of his observations and theories respecting their mode of growth contain quite remarkable anticipations of the doctrines of vegetable physiologists in our own day. He maintained, for instance, in opposition to the common belief, that trees grow from above downwards, and that they derive their nourishment from the atmosphere, instead of the earth. A paper of his on this subject, and on the ravages of worms in trees, was published in Cary's "American Museum."

Some of his other published essays may be noticed here, though most of them did not appear till about 1790. A paper containing some observations on the migration of fishes was inserted in the appendix to the third volume of Dr. Belknap's "History of New Hampshire." Three of his essays were printed in the first series of the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society ;" one contained "Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value

of the Eastern Counties in the District of Maine ;” another was “On the Religious State of the Eastern Counties ;” and the third was “On the Indian Tribes, the Causes of their Decrease, their Claims, &c.”

These papers contain little that is noteworthy now ; they have been superseded by the more enlarged observations and inquiries of modern times. But they are not without interest as specimens of the earlier attempts made for the cultivation of literature and science in this country, at a time when the gloomy aspect of political affairs naturally turned the attention of men to other topics, and when the noise of foreign war and intestine strife was hardly yet hushed. They are honorable to the author, as they show a taste for such pursuits, which certainly had not been fostered by the advantages of early education, or by the occupations of his riper years. They contain proofs of an observing eye, an inquiring spirit, and an active, if not an acute intellect.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Rebellion in Massachusetts. — Its Causes. — Disorders caused by the Insurgents. — Lincoln appointed to command the Troops who act against them. — Relieves General Shepard, and disperses Day's Force. — His Night-march to Petersham. — Marches into the western Counties. — Appointed a Commissioner to admit the Rebels to Pardon. — End of the Insurrection.*

THE immediate effects of the revolutionary war on the people of this country were unquestionably demoralizing and injurious to their character for industry, sobriety, and obedience to law. The bands of government had been loosed; the yoke of the old authorities had been thrown off, and men were not prompt to bow their necks to a new one, though contrived with wisdom and equity, and imposed by kind and impartial hands. The peaceful pursuits of commerce and agriculture had long been interrupted; the colleges and schools had either closed their doors, or were nearly deserted; and the ordinances of the sanctuary were witnessed by feeble and dispirited congregations. A spirit of military license prevailed; and a disbanded soldiery had spread

over the country, carrying to their neglected and now indigent families the licentious and disorderly habits of the camp. The ravages of war had been very widely diffused, for, out of the thirteen original states, I believe but three, New Hampshire, Delaware, and Maryland, had escaped the presence of the enemy and the actual shock of arms. The people and the state governments alike were poor and overwhelmed with debt, and the more ignorant among the former asked in vain for the promised blessings of liberty, and a recompense for the toils and sufferings which they had endured. An enormous depreciation of the currency had caused great uncertainty in bargains, and vitiated the spirit of contracts, so that men looked with distrust on each other, and the courts were filled with litigants.

These evils were most felt in those states which had entered most heartily into the war, and the consequence of them was a series of popular disturbances in Massachusetts, which, in the autumn of 1786, terminated in open rebellion. "Are your people getting mad?" wrote Washington to Lincoln. "Are we to have the goodly fabric, that eight years were spent in raising, pulled down over our heads? What is the cause of these commotions?" It is not easy to answer the last query, though



the pretences for disorder were numerous. Among those alleged by the insurgents were the great amount of public and private debts; the weight and unequal distribution of the taxes; the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of lawyers, justices, and the courts of law, in enforcing the payment of these debts, when the people were poor; the addition to the national debt caused by the grant of five millions to the officers of the army, as a commutation for their half-pay; the want of a tender law, providing that payment might be made by real or personal property taken at an appraisement; and the need of a further issue of paper money, which should be allowed to depreciate till its value was reduced to nothing.

The last of these alleged grievances touched upon the real cause of the general distress in those times, though the people were ignorant of it, as the science of political economy was not then in being. It was found that the burden of private debts seemed much heavier, and the scarcity of money much greater, than they were three years before, at the close of the war, though one would think that these evils must then have been at their height, and that the beneficial operation of peace would gradually, but surely, have lessened them.

The truth was, an enormous depreciation of



the currency had been going on during the war, and had produced its natural results in the almost total disappearance of the precious metals, and in a kind of factitious prosperity, which made the people insensible to the magnitude of their own exertions and burdens. The paper money, that was continually falling in value, for the same reason was every day becoming more abundant; and every debtor, who discharged a claim of long standing, really paid as much per cent less than the actual amount of his debt, as the currency had depreciated during the interval. The poorer classes, therefore, prospered during the war, while the rich suffered, and many of them postponed making any demand for their dues, as the payment of them in paper greatly diminished their property. It was a general remark, that creditors were very lenient, and the courts of law had little to do. But the matter at last reached its extreme, when a man was required to pay forty dollars for a night's lodging. The reaction came when the currency was carried back to its par value, and, as is inevitable in such cases, its effects were terrible. The same cause nearly produced a rebellion in England, when the bank resumed specie payments after a twenty years' suspension, the factitious prosperity produced by

which had carried the country triumphantly through its war with Napoleon. The people were required to pay in gold and silver, or their equivalent, debts which they had contracted in paper ; and the state of things, which had existed during the depreciation, was now precisely reversed. The poor now suffered, the rich made large gains, and it was found that creditors suddenly became very stringent in their demands, and the country was flooded with writs, foreclosures of mortgages, and attachments.

The distressed populace knew nothing of the real cause of their sufferings ; but, looking only to the immediate agents in them, they cried out, "Down with the courts of law, prevent the judges from acting, and hang the lawyers !" A convention of delegates from fifty towns, in the county of Hampshire, met at Hatfield, on the 22d of August, 1786, and made out a formal list of nuisances and unnecessary burdens, among which were enumerated "the existence of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace," "the present method of practice of the attorneys at law," and "the want of a sufficient medium of trade to remedy the mischiefs arising from the scarcity of money." At the elections in this year, it seemed as if mem-

bers of the bar were proscribed, for hardly a single practitioner was elected to either house. No one reflected, it appears, that the business of an attorney is to act for others, and not for himself, and that the outcry against lawyers ought therefore to have been directed exclusively against their clients. *Qui facit per alium facit per se* is a good law maxim, but the people will never act upon it; they always hold the *alium* as alone responsible. Other county conventions were held, and they aided in keeping up the popular cry for a new issue of paper money, subject to depreciation, which should be a lawful tender. But in spite of the petitions that came in from various quarters, and of the positive instructions that were given by many towns to their representatives in General Court, the majority of that body was firm, and refused to grant the request. The Rhode Island legislature was weak enough to yield, and a plentiful emission of paper stopped the clamors of the disaffected in that state.

But the storm was up in Massachusetts, and promised to make everything yield to its fury. Fifteen hundred armed men assembled in Northampton, in August, and prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas. A like assemblage at Worcester, a week or two afterwards, had the same effect there. A regular

term of the Supreme Court was to be held in Springfield, and the insurgents collected in large numbers to oppose it; General Shepard was authorized to call out six hundred militia to protect the judges, and, by his discreet but firm behavior, the Court was able to commence its session, but deemed it prudent almost immediately to adjourn. The judges did not think fit even to enter the county of Berkshire, knowing that their presence would only irritate the disaffected, and that no business could be accomplished. Similar obstructions were offered to the courts in Bristol and Middlesex. The leaders of the insurgents in Hampshire were Daniel Shays, who had been a captain of equivocal reputation in the revolutionary army, and Adam Wheeler; in Middlesex, one Job Shattuck took the lead.

James Bowdoin, a man of talent and decided character, was Governor at this time; and he called an extra session of the General Court, in September, to take measures for putting down the insurgents. Unluckily, the Lower House proved to be time-serving and pusillanimous, and little could be effected. On the one hand, they passed a new tender law, and issued a conciliatory address to the people; on the other, they enacted a more stringent riot act, and, after much persuasion, suspended, in

a modified degree, the privilege of the *habeas corpus*. But they refused to declare either of the counties in a state of rebellion, and merely requested the Governor to call out the militia whenever he deemed it necessary.

After the adjournment of the General Court, the disturbances became more flagrant than ever, as several of the acts recently passed were added to the list of grievances. The people of Boston retained their devotion to the cause of law and order, and many of the inhabitants combined to aid the civil authorities. The courts in Middlesex being again obstructed by the insurgents, warrants were made out to apprehend their ringleaders, and a volunteer party of horsemen left Boston to aid the sheriff in seizing them. Several were captured, and among them was Job Shattuck, who resisted desperately, and was severely wounded before he was taken.

The rebels now organized themselves, just as the whole state had done at the beginning of the revolutionary war. Conventions were held, committees of correspondence established, and a large armed force was kept constantly in the field to prevent any of the courts of law from holding a session. To oppose them, the Governor and Council, in the beginning of January, 1787, ordered out forty-four hun-

dred of the militia, and placed them under the command of Lincoln, as the senior major-general in the state. He could not have been appointed to a more embarrassing and thankless office ; but his sense of duty would not allow him to refuse. Great hopes were entertained from his high reputation for mingled energy, discretion, and mildness ; and, indeed, there was not a man in the country equally competent to act in so delicate an affair. The nature of the embarrassments under which he acted will be understood by an extract from his letter to Washington.

“The insurgents have now every advantage. If we move in force against them, we move under the direction of the civil authority, and cannot act but by its direction. After the riot act has been read, and one hour has elapsed, they may disperse if they think proper, and the next day assemble again at another place. So they may conduct themselves from day to day in perfect security, until a favorable opportunity shall offer, after the well affected to government are worn out, to commence the attack. Had the last General Court declared the disaffected counties in a state of rebellion, they would have placed the contest on a different footing, and the rebels might soon have been crushed. They

did not do it, and what they will do at their next session, which will be in February, is quite uncertain."

Just as the troops were ready to march, information was received from the Commissary-General, that the necessary supplies could not be had without a considerable sum in cash, which the Treasurer was not able to borrow. Lincoln immediately called a meeting of some of the more wealthy and intelligent inhabitants of Boston, and suggested to them the absolute necessity of lending a part of their property, if they wished to secure the remainder. A subscription was at once set on foot, with the Governor at the head of it, and before twenty-four hours had elapsed, the necessary sum was raised.

On the 20th of January, Lincoln marched with the troops towards Worcester, with orders from the Governor to protect the courts which were to sit there on the 23d, to aid the magistrates in executing the laws and apprehending offenders of the public peace, and to act in obedience to the civil authorities in every case, except when opposed by an armed force. The object was to intimidate the insurgents by a great display of force, and thus induce them to disperse without coming to an actual conflict, as great apprehensions were en-



tertained, on both sides, of the effect of the first bloodshed. The first object was easily obtained, as the courts held a quiet session at Worcester, under the protection of the troops. The chief purpose of the rebels now was to get possession of the United States arsenal at Springfield, where there was a great store of arms and ammunition. About eleven hundred of them were assembled, for this object, under Shays, at Wilbraham, while four hundred more, under Luke Day, were posted opposite to Springfield, on the west side of the river. A third party, of four hundred men from Berkshire, under Eli Parsons, was close at hand to assist Day.

General Shepard was stationed at Springfield, with about a thousand militia, to protect the arsenal. Fears were entertained, that he would be overpowered before Lincoln could come up to his aid, as the insurgent force was greatly exaggerated by common rumor. Shays and Day were to have made a joint attack on the arsenal on the 25th; but, a letter from Day, asking for a postponement of the attempt, being intercepted, when the former brought his men up to Springfield on that day, there was no force from the other side of the river to coöperate with him. Still he moved forward, and demanded possession of the arsenal.



General Shepard warned him, that, if his men advanced beyond a certain line, they would be fired upon; but they persisted, and, two cannon shot fired over their heads having failed to intimidate them, Shepard ordered two pieces of artillery to be discharged against the centre of their column, which Shays was attempting to display. By this fire, three of the rebels were killed, and several wounded. A cry of "Murder!" immediately rose in the insurgent ranks, and the whole body dispersed in great confusion. But as no pursuit was made, the object being only to frighten them, Shays collected most of his party again, at a place about six miles off.

Meanwhile, Lincoln was hurrying forward to Springfield, where he arrived with the main body of the troops on the 27th. Giving the men only a short time for refreshment, he ordered them to move again at three o'clock in the afternoon, though they had been under arms since one that morning, marching over roads much obstructed with snow. Lincoln, with four regiments and some horse, crossed the Connecticut to beat up Day's quarters, while he ordered Shepard, with the remainder of the army, to move up the river on the ice, to prevent a junction of the two bodies of insurgents, and to cut off Day's retreat. No

serious opposition was made to Lincoln on the west side; the main body of the rebels stood their ground till he came very near, when they retired to a rising ground behind. Being met there by the cavalry, who had been sent round to their rear, they suddenly broke their ranks, and fled in all directions.

On the same night, Shays, with his party, moved towards Amherst, whither he was followed by Lincoln on the 29th. As the government troops came up, the insurgents abandoned this place also, a number of them being captured on their retreat, and the remainder took a very strong post on two hills, almost inaccessible in the winter season, in the town of Pelham. The militia were stationed near at hand, in Hadley and Hatfield, and parties of them were so posted as to prevent recruits or provisions being sent to Shays from the neighboring towns, since the inhabitants of most of them were friendly to him. As the rebels were now much dispirited and fatigued, from the energy and quickness with which they had been pursued from one place to another, Lincoln deemed it a favorable occasion to summon them to submit, and give up their arms. He sent a letter, therefore, to Shays and their other officers, on the 30th, from which the following is an extract.

“Whether you are convinced or not of your error in flying to arms, I am fully persuaded that, before this time, you have the fullest conviction that you are not able to execute your original purpose. Your resources are few, your force is inconsiderable, you are in a post where you have neither cover nor supplies, and where you can neither give aid to your friends, nor discomfort to the supporters of good order and government. Under these circumstances, you cannot hesitate to disband your deluded followers. If you should not, I must approach, and apprehend the most influential characters among you.”

A promise was given to the privates, that, if they would instantly lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth, they should be recommended to the General Court for mercy. The answer of Shays was in an humble tone, his party offering to surrender on condition of a general pardon, and asking that hostilities might be suspended till they could have time to petition the General Court, and receive an answer. Lincoln received also numerous urgent applications from the selectmen and committees of various disaffected towns, asking him to avoid the effusion of blood, and postpone all operations till a new General Court should be

chosen. But he replied firmly, that the troops of Shays must first of all be disbanded, and that he could grant nothing but a recommendation to mercy. There were great fears of delay, as the disaffected hoped to gain a majority of both Houses in the new legislature. It was the aim of the government to crush them, if possible, before the end of the winter.

On the 2d of February, Lincoln reconnoitred in force the position of the insurgents in Pelham, intending to attack them the next day. But the movement so much alarmed them, that Shays on the same afternoon broke up his camp, and moved off towards Petersham, in Worcester county, as he had assurances of support from many towns in that vicinity. News of this movement being brought to Lincoln, he immediately got the troops under arms, and started off at eight o'clock in the evening in pursuit. The first part of the night was pleasant; but about two o'clock in the morning, the wind shifted to the westward, and it became very cold and squally, with considerable snow. The roads were nearly filled up, and the men were much fatigued; but they were in a part of the country where shelter could not be obtained for a distance of eight miles, so that they were obliged to march on. The cold became so severe that

any halt was dangerous, and the whole distance of thirty miles was accomplished before nine o'clock in the morning. None of the men perished, but a great number were severely frost-bitten; and the sufferings of that dreadful night march to Petersham were long remembered and spoken of in that part of the country.

Shays's men had arrived about midnight, before the cold became severe, and, being quartered in the centre of the town, had gone to sleep, much fatigued, hardly posting any guards. Had it not been for the depth of the snow, and the steepness of a hill just at the entrance of the place, the troops would have captured the greater part of them, as the surprise was complete. As it was, about one hundred and fifty were taken, and the others fled in all directions, too much frightened ever to come together again. Thus, within a fortnight from the time of taking the field, and in the depth of a severe winter, Lincoln had traversed a great part of the interior of the state, had dispersed the two great collections of the insurgents, taken many of them prisoners, and entirely crushed the rebellion on the east side of the Connecticut, without a drop of blood being shed by the troops under his immediate command.

He reported his proceedings to the General Court, which had now come together, and showed a disposition to act with firmness. They voted to repay the money borrowed in Boston; they declared that a rebellion existed, and authorized General Lincoln to offer pardon to all the privates among the insurgents, who should lay down their arms, take the oath of allegiance, and submit to the following disqualifications; that they should keep the peace for three years, and during that time should not serve as jurors, nor be eligible to any office, nor vote at any election, nor act as schoolmasters, innkeepers, or retailers of spirituous liquors. Those were excepted from the benefit of this act, who had held any kind of office among the rebels, or who had fired on the government troops, and the Governor was authorized to offer a reward for the apprehension of such persons. A proclamation was therefore issued, declaring Shays, Day, Wheeler, and Parsons to be traitors, and offering a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for the apprehension of the first, and of one hundred pounds for each of the others. The term for which the militia now in the field were called out having nearly expired, it was ordered that fifteen hundred of them should be reënlisted for four months, to act under

General Lincoln in suppressing the remains of the insurrection.

Having dispersed the main bodies of the insurgents, the General was now at liberty to divide his force, so as to break up the little knots of those in arms, who had collected in many places, and were insulting and plundering all whom they considered as friends to the government. The western part of the state particularly claimed his attention, being much infested in this way, Berkshire county having been the chief seat of disaffection. Leaving some troops in Worcester and Springfield, and a regiment in Hampshire county, he proceeded with three regiments to Pittsfield, where he arrived about the middle of February. Detachments were sent into many towns in the county, where they dispersed small parties of the insurgents, made many prisoners, and obliged those who escaped to seek refuge in the neighboring states. About eighty of these refugees returned from New York on the 26th, and entered the town of Stockbridge, which they plundered, and made prisoners of some of its most respectable inhabitants. They were met in their retreat by Colonel Ashley, with about eighty of the militia, and a sharp fire was kept up between the two parties for several minutes, when the insurgents dispersed,



leaving two dead, and about thirty wounded, many of them were subsequently captured. Two of the militia were killed, and one wounded.

Governor Bowdoin and General Lincoln both wrote to the Governors of the neighboring states, pressing them very earnestly to take measures for dispersing or apprehending the rebels, who had sought refuge within their borders, whence they made incursions, from time to time, into Massachusetts, and did great harm with impunity, as they were sure that the troops could not follow them beyond the state line. New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York complied with this request, and acted vigorously in expelling the insurgents; the proceedings of Rhode Island and Vermont were less satisfactory. Lincoln passed into New York, and had an interview with Governor Clinton of that state, who, with some militia, had advanced nearly to the line to co-operate with him. Royall Tyler, one of Lincoln's aids, was sent into Vermont to concert measures there in the same way with Governor Chittenden. After great difficulty and delay, and when the proceedings of the more obstinate insurgents had become so outrageous that they were disavowed even by their former friends, this functionary also made some



feeble attempts to support the cause of law and government. Before the 1st of April, quiet was reëstablished throughout Massachusetts, the insurgents making no attempts, after this period, that were not easily repressed by the civil authorities.

But Lincoln's task was not yet ended. By an act of the General Court, on the 10th of March, Samuel Phillips, Junior, and Samuel A. Otis, the presiding officers of the two Houses, together with General Lincoln, were appointed commissioners to proceed into the central and western portions of the state, and promise indemnity to such of the late insurgents as had not rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious. In the multitude of prisoners and of persons liable to be apprehended, they were to decide who were to be set at liberty, though under the conditions and disqualifications already mentioned, and who were to be detained for trial. They proceeded to execute this delicate and responsible office, and extended the favor of government to nearly eight hundred applicants. Of those who were retained for trial, fourteen were convicted of treason, and sentenced to death; but they were all subsequently pardoned, or their sentence was commuted to imprisonment for a term of years. Many

others were convicted of seditious words or practices, some of them being persons of consequence, and they suffered lighter penalties. It is quite refreshing to find that the judges had the firmness, after a member of the House of Representatives had been found guilty of sedition, to sentence him to sit on the gallows, with a rope about his neck, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and to give bonds for his good behavior for five years; and this sentence was executed. It is a pity that legal inflictions of this character have so far gone out of fashion, that they cannot be held up *in terrorem* before some of the legislators of a later day.

The month of June arrived before the Governor was willing to accept Lincoln's resignation, and allow him to return to his private pursuits. "I shall return home," he wrote to Washington, "to the prosecution of the subject which engaged my attention last year; the eastern country. My friends tell me I have just enthusiasm enough for such a project; what they call the effect of enthusiasm to me appears the result of my best judgment."

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Establishment of the Federal Constitution. — Lincoln's Correspondence on this Subject. — His pecuniary Circumstances. — Hancock's Jealousy of him. — Appointed Collector of Boston. — His Correspondence with John Adams. — Appointed a Commissioner to treat with the Indians. — Involved by the Bankruptcy of General Knox. — His Situation when old. — His Death and Character.*

A SUBJECT of vast political importance soon called away Lincoln's attention from the settlement of wild lands, and turned it once more to public affairs. The Massachusetts rebellion in one respect was a blessing to the country, for it did more than any thing else to convince the people, that the United States would never be prosperous or safe until a more stable and efficient government was created over them. Before the disturbances had reached their height, Washington had been asked to use his great personal influence to stay the mad proceedings of the insurgents. "You talk, my good Sir," he answered, with much feeling, "of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know

not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. *Influence is not government.* Let us have a government, by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

The convention that framed the federal constitution was now in session, and when the result of its deliberations became known, in September of this year, the country was at once thrown into the greatest excitement by the discussion of its merits, and by the doubt whether it would be ratified by a sufficient number of states. All eyes were turned to Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York, as their votes would probably decide the matter, and the result in each of them remained uncertain up to the last moment. In the former state, among the foremost and most zealous advocates of the new system was found General Lincoln. No one had more fairly earned a hearing for his opinions upon this subject by his eminent public services, and probably no one was more influential in bringing about the final ratification of the constitution in Massachusetts. He was chosen a member of the numerous convention that assembled for this purpose in January, 1788, and took an active part in its proceedings. As the towns had

exercised their privilege to the full extent, three hundred and sixty members appeared in this assembly, and Governor Hancock was chosen its president. Among them were many who had been indirectly concerned in the late rebellion, and others who had really favored it by opposing all but the most timid and lenient measures designed for its repression. The voices of this class, of course, were unanimous against the new constitution; and so numerous were they, that, if the question had been taken at once without debate, they would certainly have triumphed. As it was, after proposing some amendments for future consideration, the final vote in this large assembly showed a majority of only nineteen in favor of the new system of government.

The matter remained in suspense, as to the determination of a sufficient number of states, for some months afterwards, during which time Lincoln was in active correspondence with the most influential friends of the constitution throughout the country. The letters of Washington, General Knox, Samuel A. Otis, Theodore Sedgwick, Dr. David Ramsay, and others show, in a striking manner, the hopes and fears which alternately prevailed, and on what a slender thread the future destiny of the United States was then depending. The practi-

cability of reconciling liberty with law, and of establishing an efficient government over a democratic people, was the great problem to be solved. One of Dr. Ramsay's letters to Lincoln gives so interesting a view of the relations, which then existed between New England and South Carolina, that it is worth while to insert it here. It is dated at Charleston, January 29th, 1788.

"Our Assembly is now sitting, and have unanimously agreed to hold a convention. By common consent, the merits of the federal constitution were freely discussed on that occasion, for the sake of enlightening our citizens. Mr. [Rawlins] Lowndes was the only man, who made direct formal opposition to it. His objections were local, and proceeded from an illiberal jealousy of New England men. He urged that you would raise freights on us, and, in short, that you were too cunning for our honest people; that your end of the continent would rule the other; and that the sun of our glory would set when the new constitution operated. He has not one Federal idea in his head. He is said to be honest and free from debt; but he was an enemy to independence; and though our President in 1778, he was a British subject in 1780. His taking protection was rather the passive act of an old man than

otherwise. He never aided or abetted the British government directly, but his example was mischievous. His opposition has poisoned the minds of some.

“I fear the numerous class of debtors more than any other. On the whole, I have no doubt the constitution will be accepted by a very great majority in this state. The sentiments of our leading men are of late much more Federal than formerly. This honest sentiment was avowed by the first characters; ‘New England has lost, and we have gained, by the war; and her suffering citizens ought to be our carriers, though a dearer freight should be the consequence.’ Your delegates never did a more politic thing, than in standing by those of South Carolina about negroes. Virginia deserted them, and was for an immediate stoppage of further importation. The [Old] Dominion has lost much popularity by the conduct of her delegates on this head. The language now is, ‘The Eastern States can soonest help us in case of invasion, and it is more our interest to encourage them and their shipping, than to join with or look up to Virginia.’

“In short, Sir, a revolution highly favorable to union has taken place; Federalism and liberality of sentiment have gained great ground. Mr. Lowndes still thinks you are a set of



sharpers, and does not wonder that you are for the new constitution, as, in his opinion, you will have all the advantage. He thinks you begrudge us our negroes. But he is almost alone."

General Lincoln was prevented, by severe domestic affliction, from sharing, to the full extent, the joy of his friends on the adoption of the Federal Constitution. His eldest son, Benjamin Lincoln, Junior, died this winter, at the early age of twenty-eight. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1777, studied law under Levi Lincoln at Worcester, and had commenced practice in Boston with flattering prospects and a high reputation for so young a man. He married Mary, the second daughter of the celebrated James Otis, and had two sons, who were graduated at the same college respectively in 1806 and 1807, and, like their father, both died in early manhood. The widow, with these two sons, found a refuge in the family of her father-in-law. She subsequently married Dr. Henry Ware, then pastor of the first church in Hingham, and afterwards Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. She died at Cambridge in 1806.

As General Lincoln's circumstances, at this time, made some public office, with a salary attached to it, desirable, if not necessary, at the



election in the spring of 1788, he was nominated by his friends for the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Samuel Adams and General Warren were the two other candidates for the same post; and this caused such a division, that there was no choice by the people, though Lincoln had over ten thousand votes, a number nearly twice as great as that given to either of his opponents. The election consequently devolved upon the legislature, and they appointed Lincoln. John Hancock was re-elected Governor, who had unfortunately conceived a strong jealousy of Lincoln, on account of the great popularity which the latter had acquired with the Federalists, in consequence of his distinguished merits in suppressing the rebellion, and supporting the new constitution, while Hancock had shown himself lukewarm and wayward in both these respects. The office of commander of the Castle, in Boston harbor, had, of late, always been given to the Lieutenant-Governor, the former office being worth about one thousand dollars a year, while the salary of the latter was three hundred pounds. The appointment to the former post belonged to the Governor, who now showed his envious feelings by refusing to comply with the established usage of nominating the Lieutenant-Governor for the office. A sinister influ-

ence had crept into the General Court, also, arising from the firmness with which Lincoln had acted against the insurgents; and the consequence was, that his salary as Lieutenant-Governor was cut down to one hundred and sixty pounds. Such is the manner in which Massachusetts has too often rewarded the most faithful of her public servants.

Some of Lincoln's friends appear to have resented the unworthy manner in which he was treated by the Governor, and to have gone so far as to refuse to hold office under him. The following note, dated April 13th, 1788, is so characteristic of Hancock's manner, that it deserves to be published.

"The Governor presents his compliments to General Lincoln, and informs him that he has this day had an ill turn, which obliged him to leave the place of worship, and that he is at this moment only able to acknowledge the receipt of General Lincoln's letter of yesterday's date, and to mention the wounds he has received from the various reports which he has heard upon the subject of his letter. He hoped at an earlier period to have received the resignations that have been threatened. The Governor has made up his judgment upon the subject, and is ready to receive them at any time, as he feels himself very much in-

sulted, and not treated in the manner that his station demands. The Governor, however, will be happy at all times to receive General Lincoln at his house, and to converse with him upon any subject, either in his official or private character."

The frank and manly spirit with which Lincoln acted in this affair is shown by a letter, that he addressed to the Governor about two months after the date of the one just quoted.

"I have received information, that it has been suggested to your Excellency, that it is my wish, and the wish of my friends, that I should supplant you in the important office you now hold ; and that those attentions which I have paid to your Excellency arise from no other motive than a desire to gain your confidence, and, by a nearer approach, the more effectually to wound and injure you. If insinuations like these exist, they are groundless ; and an apprehension of the possibility of their possessing your Excellency's mind for a moment is exceedingly painful to my feelings. For consider, Sir, the sad predicament I may be placed in. If I should be inattentive to your Excellency, I should be justly chargeable with an omission of duty ; if attentive, it will be said, that I act with the worst designs. I shall, therefore, as it is a duty which I owe

to the public, to your Excellency, and to myself, take the earliest opportunity to converse with you fully on the subject of these reports, in order to convince you, that they have no foundation in truth. I flatter myself, that, from your Excellency's known candor, I shall be happy enough to effect an object which will be peculiarly grateful to me."

The estrangement on Hancock's part, notwithstanding this sensible and straightforward attempt to put an end to it, continued during this year of office; and at the next election, the Democratic party gained the ascendancy so far as to throw out General Lincoln, and to elect Samuel Adams in his place. Though glad to quit an office, which circumstances had rendered far more uncomfortable than lucrative, the fickle humor of the public might well have caused him some pain, after he had so hardly earned their favor by the greatest exertions and sacrifices.

He was now so straitened in his affairs, as to be obliged to look for employment as a means of support. The establishment of the national government, which he had labored so strenuously to promote, seemed to afford many openings in which his services might be useful; and accordingly, in February, 1789, he frankly explained to Washington the unfortunate state

of his pecuniary affairs, and asked, that, in the appointments to the new offices, his claims might be considered. This request, being warmly seconded by his numerous friends, among whom were nearly all the leading Federalists in New England, and being consonant, also, with the wishes of the new President, who had a strong personal attachment to Lincoln, as well as a high respect for his public services, was readily granted; and in August of this year, he was made Collector of the port of Boston, an office not of high rank, but of considerable emolument, and particularly agreeable to him, as it did not oblige him to change his residence or leave his family. It made him easy in his circumstances for the rest of his days, as he continued to hold it till age and infirmity prompted him to resign all earthly cares.

The correspondence of General Lincoln, at the time the Federal Constitution was going into effect, with many of the distinguished statesmen of the day, on the great questions which were then agitating the public mind, is very interesting; but the limits of this work do not allow of any copious extracts from it. A few passages, however, may be quoted from the letters of John Adams, as they have a bearing on the important question respecting the

sovereignty of the national government over the states, though they relate primarily to what seems to be an insignificant point of etiquette ; whether the Governors of the several states should yield precedence to the President and Vice-President of the United States. Governor Hancock held that they ought not to do so ; and at a later period, when President Washington, on his tour through the Northern States, visited Boston, much embarrassment was created at first by his obstinately insisting on this point, though he was finally obliged to compromise his dignity, as he thought, by yielding it. John Adams writes on the subject in his usual direct and fervid manner.

“ In answer to your question, I ask another ; Where is the sovereignty of the nation lodged ? Is it in the national government, or in the state governments ? Are there more sovereignties than one ? If there is more than one, there are eleven ; if there are eleven, there is no general government, for there cannot be eleven sovereignties against one. Are not the constitution and laws of the United States the supreme law of the land ? If so, the supreme magistrate of the United States is the supreme magistrate of the land. This would be enough to determine your question.

“The Governors of Pennsylvania and New York have decidedly yielded the precedence both to the President and Vice-President. It is etiquette that governs the world. If the precedence of the President, and consequently the Vice-President; is not decidedly yielded by every Governor upon the continent, in my opinion Congress had better disperse and go home. For my own part, I am resolved, the moment it is determined, that any Governor is to take rank either of President or Vice-President, I will quit and go home.”

The writer's views of the equality of President and Vice-President, founded on the fact that the latter officer is the presiding officer of the Senate, are somewhat curious. “The constitution has instituted two great offices, of equal rank, and the nation at large, in pursuance of it, have created two officers; one, who is the first of the two equals, is placed at the head of the executive; the other, at the head of the legislature. If a Governor has rank of one, he must, of course, of both. This would give a decided superiority to the state governments, and annihilate the sovereignty of the national government.”

The following relates to Governor Hancock's message to the General Court, in May, 1789. “The cry of monarchy is kept up in



order to deter the people from recurring to the true remedy, [increasing the independent power of the executive,] and to force them into another, which would be worse than the disease; that is, into an entire reliance on the popular branch, and a rejection of the other two branches. A remarkable instance of this I lately read, with much concern, in the message of the Governor to the House. The attention and affections of the people are there turned to their representatives only, and they are very artfully terrified with the phantoms of monarchy and despotism. Does he mean to insinuate that there is danger of a despotism, or of simple monarchy? Or would he have the people afraid of a limited monarchy? In truth, Mr. H. [Hancock] himself is a limited monarch. The constitution of the Massachusetts is a limited monarchy; so is the constitution of the United States. Both have very great monarchical powers; and the real defects of both are, that they have not enough to make the first magistrate an independent and effectual balance to the other branches. But does Mr. H. mean to confound these limited monarchical powers with despotism and simple monarchy, which have no limits? Does he wish and mean to level all things, and become the rival of General Shays? The idea



of an equal distribution of intelligence and property is as extravagant, as any that ever was avowed by the maddest of the insurgents.

“Another instance of the false coin, or rather paper money in circulation, [the writer has been alluding to the fraudulent use of words,] is the phrase ‘confederated republic,’ and ‘confederated commonwealth.’ The new constitution might, in my opinion, with as much propriety be denominated judicial astrology. My old friend, your Lieutenant-Governor, in his devout ejaculation for the new government, very carefully preserves the idea of a confederated commonwealth, and the *independent* states that compose it. Either his ideas or mine are totally wrong upon this subject. In short, Mr. A. [Samuel Adams] in his prayer, and Mr. H. in his message, either understand not the force of the words they have used, or they have made the most insidious attack on the new constitution that has yet appeared.”

The permanent station that Lincoln held proved no obstacle to his accepting temporary appointments of a different nature from the collectorship. Thus, in the autumn of 1789, he was appointed a commissioner, together with Cyrus Griffin and David Humphreys, to make a treaty, if possible, with the Creek Indians, on the borders of the Southern States. The

experience which he had had in negotiating with the Penobscot Indians, his popularity at the south, and his known discretion and good tact, probably led to this appointment. It was peculiarly grateful to him, as it afforded him an opportunity, while on the journey, of visiting President Washington, whom he had not seen since 1783. The negotiation did not last long, for it was soon found that the savages would not bargain for a peace; both Spain and Great Britain had an interest to prevent it, and their emissaries successfully fanned the hostile intentions of the Indians. Lincoln returned in November, and, while at New York, complied with the second branch of his instructions, which required him, in case the Creeks refused to treat, to draw up a plan both of defensive and offensive operations against them. This plan was minute and judicious, pointing out the number and quality of the troops that should be employed, the routes by which they might penetrate the Indian country, and the means of furnishing them with supplies.

That his conduct in this negotiation satisfied the government appears from the fact, that in April, 1793, he was appointed a member of a far more important commission, to treat with the Indians north of the Ohio, his colleagues

being Beverley Randolph of Virginia, and Timothy Pickering. The place appointed for the conference was Sandusky, on Lake Erie. Lincoln set out, on his way thither, on the 27th of April, by way of Albany, the Mohawk River, Oswego, and Buffalo ; and returned early in September, by way of Lake Ontario, Montreal, and Vermont. He kept a very full journal while on this expedition, and it has been published entire in the fifth volume, third series, of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.\* There is little need, therefore, of giving any detailed account of the mission here.

It is well known, that the negotiation was unsuccessful, the Indians refusing to make peace on the terms required by the United States. They demanded, that the line established by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768,

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\* Accompanying this publication is an engraving of an outline sketch, very well done, taken by a British officer, who was present at the scene, of the first conference with the Indians, held at Buffalo Creek. It represents, on the right, General Lincoln, Mr. Pickering, and Mr. Randolph, together with General Chapin and some Quakers, who accompanied the mission as peacemakers ; on the left are two British officers, the interpreter, and the Indian orator. The likenesses of some of the personages, at least, are very well preserved.

namely, the Ohio River, should be the boundary between them and the "Bostonians," as they now called the Americans, to distinguish them from the English. The commissioners replied, that the subsequent treaties of Forts McIntosh, Miami, and Harmar, made in 1784, conveyed large tracts of land north of the Ohio to the United States, and that it was indispensable that these cessions should be confirmed. The Indians, stimulated by the British, who continued to hold their posts within our territory in spite of the treaty of 1783, and by the traders and the loyalists, who had taken refuge among them, and who were actuated by the most bitter hatred and jealousy of their former countrymen, refused to yield these lands, though goods to a considerable amount, and an annuity in money, were offered as inducements; and the negotiation was consequently broken off. Jay's treaty, in 1794, and Wayne's victory in the summer of the same year, were the only means of making a peace with the irritated savages.

This was the last time that General Lincoln accepted any public employment, the effect of which would be to separate him, even for a limited time, from his family. He was now far advanced towards the evening of life, and his lameness, with a corpulent habit of

body, and a tendency to lethargic disease, made the comforts and repose of his home indispensable for smoothing the pathway, which now declined perceptibly towards the grave. Still, he was hale and vigorous, as his calmness of mind and temperate habits had fully preserved a constitution, that was originally sound and strong. With a clear head and sound judgment, he was yet able to attend, for many years, to the duties of his office as collector, and to advise and assist his friends when circumstances compelled them to seek his aid. No one was more happy in the number, respectability, and strong attachment of those who were united to him by the ties of kindred, official employment, or friendship. Between himself and Dr. Henry Ware, who had succeeded Dr. Gay in the care of the church in Hingham, a constant and affectionate intercourse was maintained, that rested on equal gentleness of temper, purity of life and manners, and similar religious views on both sides. By his position and local influence, General Lincoln was able to bestow many substantial favors on his friend, which were requited with grateful and manly feeling, and a faithful discharge of pastoral duty.

Another of his intimate friends was the late George Cabot, one of the most distinguished,

pure minded, and honorable statesmen whose names adorn the history of Massachusetts. Uniting, as is now often done, the character of a liberal and successful merchant with that of an able and disinterested politician, he had great influence on the course of public affairs in the state, and originated some of the most important commercial enterprises that have contributed to her prosperity. In many of his undertakings at this period, he consulted General Lincoln, who also furnished him with a letter of introduction to Washington, when he visited Philadelphia in the summer of 1789, for the sole purpose of paying his respects to the new President of the United States, whom he called "the first man in the world." Mr. Cabot erected in Beverley, in 1788, the first cotton factory ever established in Massachusetts; and there was a curious correspondence between the two friends, at that time, respecting not only the prospects of the new manufacture, but the practicability of introducing the culture of the cotton plant into this state. The idea only shows how imperfectly a matter was then understood, which has since contributed so bountifully to the welfare of New England and of the country at large.

The warmth of Lincoln's attachment to his friends betrayed him into an affair, which, in

1798, threatened to deprive him of the whole of his property, and even to leave him in old age overburdened with debt. His rigid notions of honor and integrity were so finely exemplified in this affair, that it deserves notice here. Influenced by friendship alone, he had endorsed notes to a large amount for General Knox, to aid the latter in the purchase of eastern lands. The returns from this investment did not come in so soon as they were expected; Knox became a bankrupt, and the storm was about to fall upon his endorser.

Many of Lincoln's friends advised him strongly to put his property out of his hands, so that it could not be seized by attachment, saying, that he had not contracted the debt, nor profited from it in any way, so that he was not bound in equity to pay it, if he could help himself. But he steadfastly refused, saying, to quote his letter to Dr. Ware on the subject, "When I endorsed those notes, I had a clear real estate. This fact was generally known, and was the basis of that credit which was given to my endorsements. I could not, therefore, consistently with my ideas of right, make any change in my apparent property. I could not sacrifice my own opinion to that of my good friends, for they could not enter into my feelings on the subject, nor quiet a mind



conscious of having done what it could not approve."

His farm in Hingham, with all the rest of his property, was actually attached in October of this year, and the prospect was, for a time, that he would lose the whole. Fortunately, the lands in Maine, which Knox immediately conveyed to Lincoln for his security, proved enough to satisfy the creditors, and after some time the attachment was taken off. The affair remained in suspense for a long while, and two years afterwards, Lincoln was again urged by his friends to take the step in question as the only way of securing himself. Again he refused, and stated in a letter very clearly, and with as much coolness as if he were discussing an abstract question in casuistry, the reasons why he held such a course to be unjustifiable. It is satisfactory to be able to state, that in the end he suffered no loss by his manly and upright conduct. His circumstances continued to improve, and he was able to leave a moderate fortune to his children, besides having twice distributed considerable sums among them before his death. Having more than enough for his own use, he did not deem it necessary to leave all their claims upon him to be satisfied by his executor.

In 1806, as he felt the increasing weight of



years, and was probably much dissatisfied with the course which the national administration was taking, he wrote to the President of the United States, resigning his office as collector. Mr. Jefferson's reply, considering the difference of political opinion between them, was highly honorable to him. He said, that he had received the letter with real concern. "No one respects you more than myself; none is more deeply impressed with the value of your revolutionary services; nor does any one more earnestly wish your personal happiness. You are one of those who deserve well of your country, and I have seen with pleasure your convenience allied to its services." He requested Lincoln to suspend his resignation till a successor could be appointed; and under this temporary arrangement, he held the post two years longer, when his increasing infirmities induced him to resign absolutely.

In February, 1806, a number of gentlemen of Boston, desirous of showing their "grateful respect and regard for General Lincoln, on account of his eminent public services and private virtues," requested him to sit for his portrait to Mr. Henry Sargent. He complied, and two copies were taken, one of which was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the other to Mrs. Lincoln, as "a source

of gratification to those of the family, who may survive their venerable head."

In the autumn of 1808, his infirmities had so much increased, that he was not able to transact any business, and seldom to leave his house. But his mind remained clear and serene; the affection of his family and friends preserved many enjoyments for him, and he looked with resignation and composure for the approach of death. He had been sincere and devout in his profession of Christian belief from his youth up, being attached to the more liberal, or, as some would call them, latitudinarian opinions in theology, which were then cherished by many of the Congregational clergy of Boston and its neighborhood. His religious faith and practice had remained unstained amid the license of a camp and the turmoil of politics, and pious hopes now sustained and soothed his spirits while hanging over the grave. A short attack of illness brought on the closing scene, and he expired on the 9th of May, 1810, at the age of seventy-seven years. Many of his surviving companions in arms, and a still longer train of relatives and friends, followed his remains to the tomb.

The chief traits of General Lincoln's mind and character appear so clearly in the story

of his life, that we hardly need attempt to enumerate them here. His career was a striking proof of the amount of good that may be effected in the world by a man endowed only with those plain and estimable qualities of the heart and intellect, which do not generally attract any surprise or admiration, because they are thought to be ordinary gifts, in which no one person much excels another. In their lower degrees, this may be true; but in their perfection they are very far from being common. Plain and unvarying good sense, that is neither blinded by prejudice nor warped by passion, is a much higher and rarer quality than most persons imagine. A man of genius seldom shows it; indeed, the possession of it is fatal to that decided predominance of some one taste or quality of mind, which is usually denominated genius. So, also, complete integrity of purpose, which will not even listen to a suggestion of self-interest, but discerns the right almost by intuition, and then follows it, not with ostentation or bigotry, but with calm and invincible determination, is an attribute which we do not too often find exemplified here below. Lincoln possessed both these qualities in their highest degree, and united with them a decision of character and inflexible perseverance, which, especially if manifested

in troublous times, are more likely than the former to attract the gaze and admiration of the world.

As a military commander, his career was an honorable, though not a fortunate one. He was surrounded with difficulties, and was obliged constantly to struggle against disaster and defeat, without a hope of any splendid achievements in the field; but his calmness, fortitude, and discretion, like those of his illustrious Commander-in-chief, contributed more to the final success of the cause than many of the brilliant exploits of his companions in arms. He was brave, but his courage never amounted to rashness; and though apparently unmoved in the hour of danger, he often declared, with manly frankness, that he always, in such cases, felt deeply concerned for his own life and for the lives of others. He passed through many trying scenes, not only without giving just ground for complaint, but hardly incurring censure from any quarter. Washington himself was more exposed to criticism or calumny for his military operations than Lincoln. The acknowledged patriotism of the latter, his indefatigable exertions, and the kindness and amiability of his disposition, silenced reproof, and deprived envy of its power to wound.

As a politician, his influence was widely felt in his native state, and was always exerted for the most honorable ends. Uncompromising in his convictions of duty, he never sacrificed principle to popularity, nor trafficked for the favor of the multitude. His ambition was moderate, and the success which he had attained in life seemed fully to answer his expectations. No one was more upright or affectionate in his domestic relations, or discharged with greater zeal and heartiness the duties of friendship and hospitality. His frank and cordial manners, his fondness for the society of children and young people, his relish for the pleasures of conversation, in which he is said to have borne his part without tediousness or prolixity, with good sense, delicate raillery, and well timed anecdote, naturally conciliated the strong regard of those with whom he was intimate, and promoted the favorable reception of his opinions.

It is seldom that a man who has filled a variety of offices, and acted a prominent part, in revolutionary times, escapes with a wholly unsullied reputation. The temptations of ambition and excess, the license of a soldier's life, and the intoxication of absolute command, the general disruption of the bands of order and law in the community at large, and the fiery

and unequal spirits with which one is obliged to come in contact, all form a severe trial, even for the mildest temper and the firmest principles. General Lincoln passed through this fearful ordeal without harm. There was no stain upon his life, no action in his whole career, which his most attached friends can wish to be forgotten. If we may hesitate to rank him among the great, he was emphatically a wise and good man ; and not only his descendants and the people of his native state, but those of the country whose independence he labored to establish, have reason to cherish and revere his memory. 213



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